



Left Out: Inside
Greg Craig's
White House Exit

Trauma of War:
The Private Hell
Of PTSD



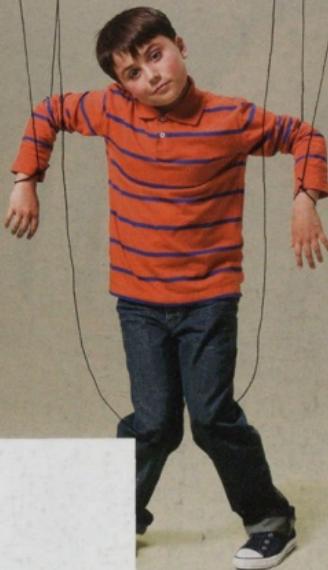
Obama in Beijing:
Why the U.S. ❤
China. Really.

TIME

The Case Against Over-Parenting

Why Mom
and Dad need
to cut the strings

BY NANCY GIBBS



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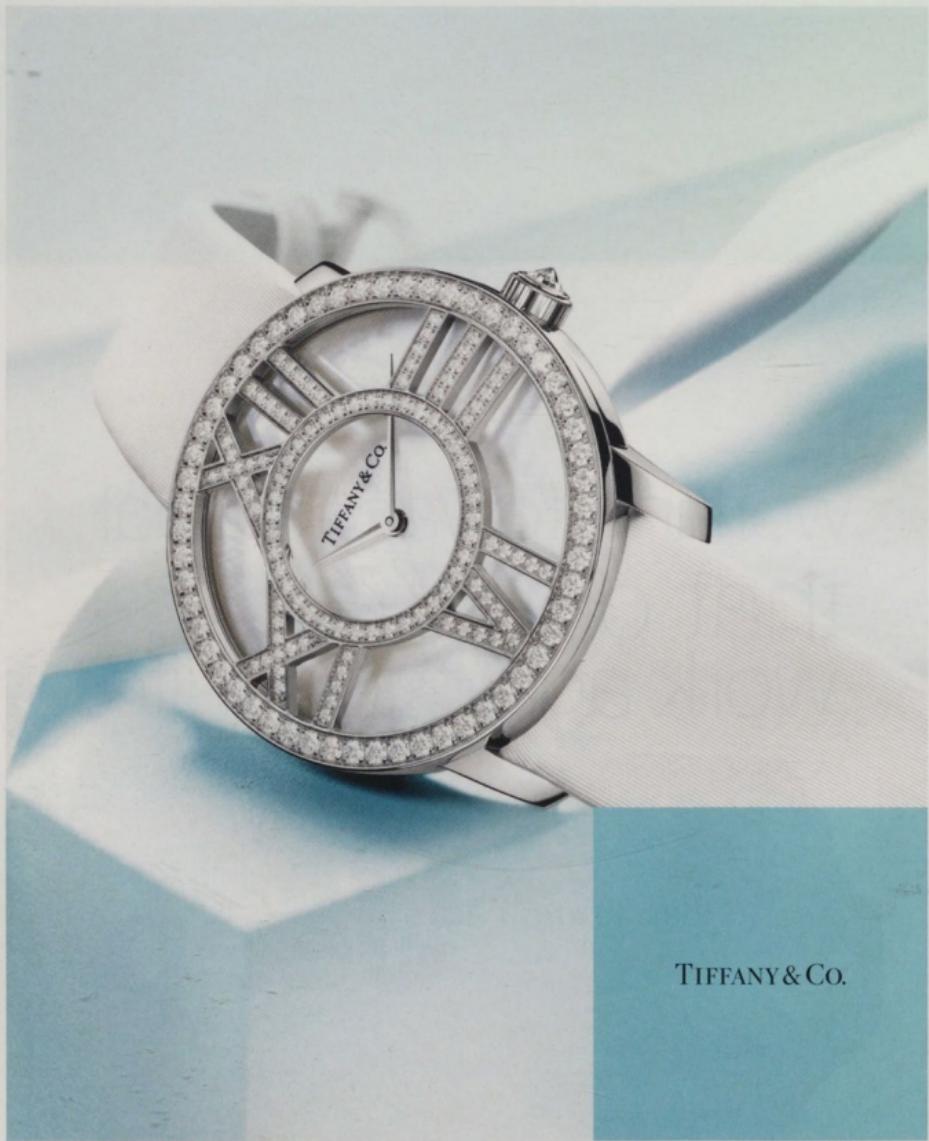


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4 | 10 QUESTIONS

Zac Efron

6 | POSTCARD Dearborn

8 | INBOX

BRIEFING15 | THE MOMENT A
Blacker Friday?

16 | THE WORLD Hunger levels in the U.S. rise to an all-time high; leaders downplay hopes for Copenhagen

18 | WHITE HOUSE MEMO Does Obama's bow signal cooperation or submission?

20 | VERBATIM A 10-year-old stands up for gay rights; a CEO apologizes ... sort of

23 | SPOTLIGHT 40 or 50? A medical panel opens a new debate on the appropriate age for a mammogram

24 | MILESTONES Farewell to sitcom writer David Lloyd

COMMENTARY

28 | TUNED IN James Poniewozik on Sarah Palin: the politician as reality star

30 | CURIOUS CAPITALIST Justin Fox on the surprising comeback of the market cycle



On the cover: Photograph for TIME by Hugh Kretschmer. Insets, from left: Pablo Martinez Monsivais—AP; Xinhua/Landov



You say you wanna negotiate? Taliban fighters in a mountain base near the Afghanistan-Pakistan border

THE WELL

34 | **The Fall of Greg Craig** Obama's recently resigned White House counsel discovers the difficulty of keeping campaign promises by Massimo Calabresi and Michael Weisskopf

40 | **PTSD** How one Army town is dealing with posttraumatic stress by Tim McGirk

44 | **Viewpoint** China and America need each other now more than ever by Zachary Karabell

46 | **Talking with the Taliban** The quickest way out of Afghanistan might be through dialogue with the enemy by Aryn Baker

52 | COVER The End of Helicopter Parents

The "slow parenting" movement argues that the American obsession with child safety and success hurts the kids by Nancy Gibbs

59 | **Facebook Games** Zynga, the social-game company behind FarmVille and Mafia Wars, has gotten its hooks into you by Belinda Luscombe

LIFE

63 | **HEALTH CARE** Some employers start to make smokers and the obese pay more

65 | **FOOD Top Chef** frozen meals: from TV to TV dinners

67 | **RELIGION** Churches look to security guards to protect the flocks

71 | **CASH CRUNCH** Pop-up stores arrive just in time for the holidays

72 | **POWER OF ONE** Recycling is good. Reuse is better

84 | **THE AWESOME COLUMN** Joel Stein picks an unconventional godfather for his son

ARTS

75 | **BOOKS** Nabokov's *The Original of Laura*, a novel in fragments

77 | **MOVIES** *The Road*: beautiful but bleak

78 | **MOVIES** Penélope Cruz is luminous in Pedro Almodóvar's *Broken Embraces*

80 | **MUSIC** The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame turns 25 with a less-than-rockin' concert

83 | **SHORT LIST** A little movie called *New Moon*. Heard of it?

10 Questions. The High School Musical star grows up in *Me and Orson Welles*, out Nov. 25. **Zac Efron will now take your questions**

How is *Me and Orson Welles* different from the other projects you have worked on?

Julie Sephora

NEW YORK CITY

It's sort of a coming-of-age story for my character, but it's also a week in the life of Orson Welles, this amazing American icon. There are a lot of tough people in Hollywood, but there's no one quite like Orson. He was a genius and should forever be remembered like that. I think one of the reasons this movie was so exciting to make was to reveal to everybody how amazing this guy was.

What factors do you consider when accepting a movie project?

Grace Guevara

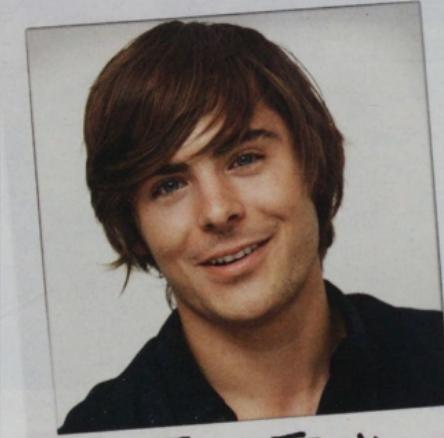
ONTARIO, CANADA

Would I go watch this movie? That's probably the first thing I think about. The second is, What's the challenge? What's the risk? I think the risk for me in this role is that it doesn't really rely on anything I've used in the past. There wasn't a particular skill set I could fall back on, like singing or dancing or basketball. So I was forced to grow in other areas. The other actors in the movie are all incredibly accomplished, and I didn't want to disappoint.

Do you have a strategy for getting more mature roles?

Claire Young, NISKAYUNA, N.Y.

To be honest, I've never really had any strategy at all. I don't really work that way. I know that when I see a role and it speaks to me, I'm drawn to it and I have to go that direction. But there's no master game plan.



ZAC EFRON
SEE YOU @ THE MOVIES

Looking to more seasoned actors, whose career would you most like to emulate?

Karsten W.N. Kurze

BAD HONNEF, GERMANY

I think Leonardo DiCaprio's done a great job. I was dead set against the guy when I was growing up, kind of force-fed his image from *Titanic*. Since then, through very hard work and incredible performances, he's done a complete 180. Now he's one of my favorite actors. He's at the top of his game.

If you could take away your fame for just one day, how would you spend that day?

Jess Debicki

LONDON

I would do something like—I was going to say "go to Disneyland." I'm not going to say "go

to Disneyland," even though that would be pretty fun. I'd probably just get lost for a day and have no agenda. Just see where the world takes me.

What is the most normal thing about your life?

Christine Lim

PITTSBURGH, PA.

I'm doing the same things as my friends in college—working, studying, trying to have fun whenever possible but usually getting pulled back into work. It's really normal for the most part, other than having to talk about how it's normal.

Do you have any intention of going to college?

Emily Hansen

SANDS POINT, N.Y.

I can't say for certain right now. I know at some point I will go back and study, but at this point I'm definitely focusing on working as hard as I can on film.

Any interest in tackling Broadway?

Matthew Farina

NEW FAIRFIELD, CONN.

I've always wanted to. Finding that right role is a challenge. I wouldn't want to just do it to do it. I would want to make sure it's something special.

Is there any chance you will try action movies?

Angela Bohn

ZANESVILLE, OHIO

I would love to try an action film at some point, but not too soon. I think that can be a kiss of death. There's got to be a real role that I can bring something unique and specific to, a way for me to do it believably. Until then, I think it would just come across as weird.

How do you keep your hair looking so great all the time?

Jennifer Cheng, FREEHOLD, N.J.

I've never told anyone this before. This is a hair scoop. Shower before you go to bed, and then sleep on your wet hair. Towel-dry it. In the morning, it's all messed up naturally. If you have that messed-up thing going when you wake up, it's more willing to stay that way. That's Zac's hair tip.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch an interview with Zac Efron and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

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Postcard: Dearborn.

Islamic communities nationwide are struggling to deal with the aftermath of the Fort Hood massacre. In America's most Muslim city, fears of a backlash

BY BOBBY GHOSH

A WEEK AND A DAY AFTER THE MASSACRE at Fort Hood, Texas, there's a palpable sense of unease among the 400 men and women gathered for Friday prayers at the American Muslim Center in Dearborn, Mich., 1,350 miles away. In his sermon, lay preacher Hani Ayyad is careful not to mention Major Nidal Malik Hasan by name but repeatedly inveighs against "those who try to hijack our *deen* [faith], who distort, tarnish and darken it." Worshippers know exactly who he means.

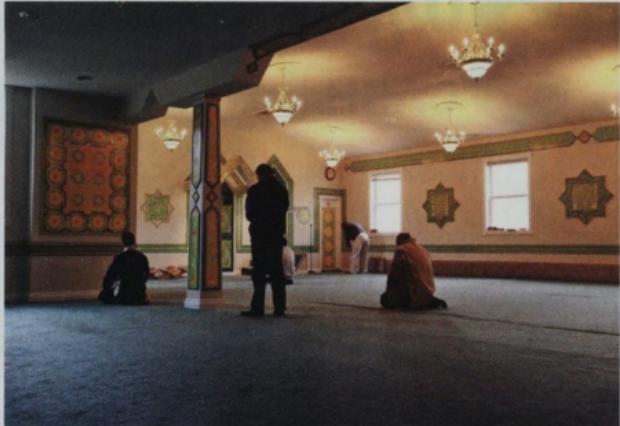
Ayyad, a charismatic 37-year-old with a sonorous voice, seems to be speaking for, not to, the congregation as he laments, "It's becoming harder and harder for us to raise our head and say, 'I am a Muslim.'" Many nod in agreement when he says, "There are very difficult times out there."

Muslims across the country fear that the massacre, which left 12 of Hasan's fellow soldiers and one civilian dead, has increased what they say is widespread hostility toward their community. But it is surprising that Muslims in Dearborn should be fearful. After all, it's hard to imagine an American town where Muslims could feel less threatened: Dearborn (pop. 100,000) has 10 mosques in the area, more than any other city of comparable size. Muslims have had a presence in the Detroit area since the 1920s, when Henry Ford brought over thousands of workers from the Middle East to operate his giant River Rouge plant. People of Middle Eastern origin make up a third of the population; public schools close for Muslim holidays.

Equally, the American Muslim Center could hardly be less threatening. The imam, Mohamed Mardini, is a moderate cleric with strong ties to city and state officials; when the CIA hosted a dinner in Dearborn recently, he sat at the head table with Director Leon Panetta. Mardini invites non-Muslims to drop by and observe prayers and holds interfaith discussions in his office. His mosque



A Year in Detroit, Day by Day
For daily coverage of the issues and challenges facing this once great American city, go to time.com/detroit



Give us strength Worshippers linger after Friday prayers at the American Muslim Center

doesn't even look out of place among the suburban homes along Outer Drive: the building used to be a Bible church.

Even so, fear of anti-Muslim demonstrations or violence persuaded some worshippers to skip Friday prayers the day after the massacre. "I told my kids to stay home," says Faheem Qureshi, 48, an engineer at Ford Motor Co. "When something like this happens, you take no chances." Marwan Wehbe, 43, a manager at a national restaurant chain, agrees: "There's a feeling there's going to be a backlash." Some worry that law enforcement may not be on their side; they cite the killing of a controversial Detroit imam during an FBI raid of his mosque last month.

But if the massacre sent some into their shells, it sent the community's leaders into a frenzy of action. As soon as media reports named Hasan the shooter, Mardini began to contact imams across the Detroit area to coordinate a response, consulting national groups like the Council on American-Islamic Relations and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). The consensus:

condemn the massacre with no reservations, and offer support for the victims and their families. ISNA launched the Fort Hood Family Fund and by Nov. 17 had collected \$45,000. Mardini went further, offering prayers for those killed and injured. "It was important for everyone to know that we're grieving as Americans," he says.

Did it work? Mardini notes that there have been no reports of heinous attacks on Muslims anywhere in the U.S. "Our worst nightmare has not come true," he says.

But as the worshippers stream out of Mardini's mosque, one man finds a package at the door. It is a hardbound Koran, in English, and it has been defaced with silver spray paint. Folded inside is a sheet of paper, bearing a message written in childish capitals: "Islam is a disease. Muslim immigrants are the virus ... Every Muslim should be kicked out of the USA."

Surprisingly, the letter seems to leave the worshippers largely unaffected. Some are even mildly relieved. "Oh, this is like egging a car," says Kader Alcodray, 38, a businessman. "Whoever did this is obviously a coward, so I don't feel threatened," agrees Qureshi. "I'd be worried if he came in here with an Uzi."



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Inbox

Give 'Em Hell, Hillary

Joe Klein has made a strong case for why Hillary Clinton should be President [Nov. 16]. Unfortunately, as Secretary of State serving an inexperienced President, she is hampered by Barack Obama's fantasy foreign policy. During the campaign, Clinton spelled out over and over the harsh realities of the dangerous world she is now confronting. Sometimes blunt is better.

Margaret Ray, PEARISBURG, VA.

It is difficult to take Klein seriously as a journalist when he sprinkles in observations about Clinton's appearing "freckly without her makeup" and wearing an "electric-blue shift" rather than a jacket and pants. Why don't we read more TIME stories about Defense Secretary Robert Gates' facial appearance and choice of pants? Is it because this is irrelevant to the story?

Mike Hamilton, EL PASO, TEXAS

Clinton deserves high praise for having publicly said what no U.S. diplomat here-tofore has had the sand to say: If Osama bin Laden and his confederates are indeed in Pakistan, the government there is not doing enough to help find them and bring them to justice. And she said it while she was in Pakistan!

Tracy Leverton, VIENNA, VA.

RANT OF THE WEEK The propaganda apparatus erected by TIME to support Clinton reveals itself once again in Joe Klein's "intimate portrait"—yet another example of how TIME serves as her permanent, adoring advocate. Come on, TIME: printing PAID POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT on each page is the least you can do.

John Fitzpatrick
LIVONIA, MICH.

Journalists, Remember Your ABCs

James Poniewozik's "Moderation in Excess" explains how pursuit of the "fair and balanced" chimera leads media into distortions of "moderate bias" [Nov. 16]. But good reporting is even more profoundly subverted by the obsession with being "first" or "exclusive." All three misguided objectives compromise attainment of

the ones that ought to be most prized—thoroughness and accuracy. I find that old-fashioned weekly or even monthly media do best at serving that ideal.

Larry Riedman, BETHESDA, MD.

The Boxer's Next Fight

Your article on boxer Manny Pacquiao, the people's champ who has brought great honor to the Philippines, captures his impact [Nov. 16]. However, most Filipinos do not want him to enter politics there, as evidenced by his bid lost for a congressional seat in 2007. The good name he has painstakingly built for himself would be tainted, if not lost, as soon as he entered that lion's den. Instead, he could use his popularity to unify divided Filipinos, especially during election time. Such an act would boost his place in Philippine history more than any public office there could.

Ron Covar, FERTH AMBOY, N.J.

SOUND OFF

'FDR and Huey Long were populists. To call Glenn Beck a populist makes me question the entire otherwise impressive article.'

George Tellifero, LIBUSE, LA.,
responding to James Poniewozik's
Nov. 16 column, "Moderation in Excess"



Rebirth of
the Middle in
politics

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How readers responded

FAVORABLE CRITICAL

Joe Klein
on Hillary's
Moment

22%

A Tale of
Two Priests,
a rift in U.S.
Catholicism

53%



Leave the Politics To the Politicians

"A Tale of Two Priests" by Amy Sullivan details a schism closely related to political ideology [Nov. 16]. Yet these debates always fail to engage us Catholics who are libertarians. We believe the force of government only makes things worse, especially on issues like abortion that are not universally accepted as wrong. (Witness the government's failed war on drugs as an example.) Archbishop Raymond Burke's position is misguided. If abortion is your No. 1 issue, why make things worse for the unborn by getting government involved?

Christopher Doll,
SALIDA, CALIF.

If we were to proceed by Burke's judgments, the church would excommunicate priests who abused children (the killing of souls), those who then sent priests to other parishes to continue molesting kids, those who vote for politicians who carry on wars (*pro-life* means all lives, not just those of the unborn) and all sinners (for sin is what essentially separates us from God). Then the church would have no members left. Burke would do well to remember that Christ turned people's hearts to him by extending them his love, forgiveness and mercy.

Beatriz Quiroga-Mueller
SANTA CLARA, CALIF.

Sullivan got it all wrong. Burke didn't object to a funeral Mass for Senator Ted Kennedy—a private one, that is. What he objected to was a public funeral, presided over by Cardinal Sean O'Malley and capped by a eulogy by pro-abortion President Obama. Such a lavish ceremony appeared to give the church's blessing to Kennedy's career, even though he publicly and consistently rejected ecclesiastical teaching on abortion and same-sex marriage.

William Conroy
MIDDLETOWN, N.Y.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In an item in "The World" on the Oct. 25 twin suicide bombing in Baghdad, we misspelled the location of the attack [Nov. 9]. It was just outside the city's Green Zone, not inside it.

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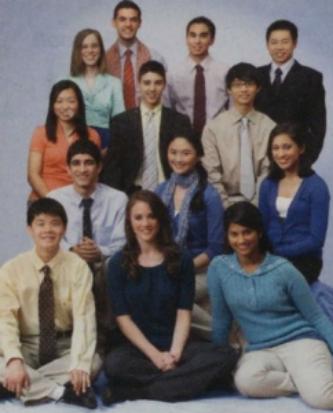


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Inbox

What Burke appears not to grasp is that the First Amendment forbids the making of civil law on the basis of a religious belief. The point at which life begins is a matter of religious dogma, not scientific fact. The beautiful thing about this country is that you can live by what you believe; you just can't make others live by your beliefs. Fortunately, many devout Roman Catholic lawmakers, like Kennedy and John Kerry, have understood this.

Gilbert Splett, MADISON, WIS.

I believe abortion is wrong, but I also think it's wrong when the church denies fellow Catholics the right to Communion and funerals. If the Church pushes away pro-choice members instead of welcoming them, people may not join.

Kristin Stille, STORM LAKE, IOWA

The Ritz Rocks

"Silver-Spoon Voluntourism"—high-end hotels facilitating eco-friendly projects for guests—is genius [Nov. 16]. I think it is great that a hotel as regal as the Ritz-Carlton, a hotel I would not ordinarily associate with community service, is taking action. President Obama should be happy he doesn't have to do it alone anymore.

Emily Larson, MANSFIELD, MASS.

You Say Liberal, I Say Libertarian

Re "Rebirth of the Middle" [Nov. 16]: Ramesh Ponnuru mentions Dede Scozzafava's support of gay marriage and reproductive choice as evidence that she not only is *not* a moderate Republican but also is to the left of many Democrats. Couldn't her support of those two issues be proof of libertarianism? The Libertarian Party believes there are particular places that the government does not belong, and anything connected to a citizen's sex life is among those places. My Republican and libertarian friends alike are for the freedom of Americans to make their own life choices.

Vonnie Shallenberger, FORT WORTH, TEXAS

My faith in the viability of the Republican Party received a major boost with the November elections. Sarah Palin's offer to help

in Virginia and New Jersey was declined by gubernatorial winners Robert McDonnell and Chris Christie, and her avowed congressional candidate, Doug Hoffman, lost in a previously unlosable Republican district. It is, after all, hard to support a person who doesn't know if Africa is a continent or a country. More good news like this, and I might rejoin the party I abandoned in 2003.

Margaret Harner, BOYERTOWN, PA.

The Threat of Tuna Extinction

Kudos for the article on tuna fisheries and the huge dangers of overfishing [Nov. 16]. A major problem is overpopulation. Our numbers are becoming so great that we are simply outstripping our resources.

Gary Tackman, ESCANABA, MICH.

It is bad enough that we have the pollution and ghost nets that kill our marine life. I wasn't aware the loss of tuna would set the ocean's ecosystem out of balance. Thanks for the list "What You Can Do." Nature can rebound if given a chance.

Donna Snow, OLYMPIA, WASH.

SOUND OFF

'Sesame Street' came along in 1969, but Fred Rogers and Mister Rogers' Neighborhood were there first.'

Don McCormick, SURPRISE, ARIZ., responding to "Brief History: Children's Television" in the Nov. 16 issue



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Pay Check Time

"Executive compensation has exploded, yet real median income hasn't changed much. What's wrong with this picture?" —Atul Gupta, Ph.D., Robert A. and Julia E. Dorn Professor of Finance

Bentley Professor Atul Gupta is monitoring the widening compensation gap in the U.S. with a particular focus on women in the executive suite. The good news: they are keeping pace. The bad news: the rest of us are falling way behind. Professor Gupta talks about his research:

The gap in compensation between male and female senior executives is actually shrinking? Yes, in contrast to the majority of women in the workforce, female senior executives are earning nearly as much as their male counterparts. And in the corner office, there is no gap in total compensation.

So there is equality in the corner office, but elsewhere in our economy the compensation gap is growing? Executive compensation has just exploded since the 1990s, yet the real median income in America hasn't changed much in nearly 30 years. There's something wrong with this picture.

Is regulation the answer? The widening wage gap is a societal problem; to fix it, we need a change in values not just regulations. Accountability really begins in the boardroom. America's corporate boards need to be convinced that their decisions on compensation, in particular, are starting to tear at our social fabric. If we can reform board oversight, we may see long-term solutions.

Where would you begin? I would start by requiring the position of Board Chair to be separate from that of CEO. The CEO is accountable to the board, yet in most American corporations, the CEO and the Board Chair are the same person—this is a problem.

From your perspective, is our free-market system working? Some people have made fantastic amounts of money, but the median worker hasn't seen much of it. So yes, the system is working very well at creating wealth—but it's not working very well for everybody.

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MORE Professor Gupta discusses his work at Bentley.edu/research





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- have any open cuts or sores on your body
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back
- have diabetes or an immune system problem. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have TB, or have been in close contact with someone who has had tuberculosis
- were born in, lived in, or traveled to countries where there is more risk for getting TB. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- live or have lived in certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, or the Southwest) where there is a greater risk for certain kinds of fungal infections (histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, blastomycosis). These infections may develop or become more severe if you take ENBREL®. If you don't know if you have lived in an area where histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, or blastomycosis is common, ask your doctor.
- have or have had hepatitis B
- use the medicine Kineret® (anakinra)

After starting ENBREL®, if you have an infection, any sign of an infection including a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms, or have any open sores on your body, **call your doctor right away**. ENBREL® can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse.

What is ENBREL®?

ENBREL® is a medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker. ENBREL® is used in adults to treat:

- moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA). ENBREL® can be used alone or with a medicine called methotrexate.
- psoriatic arthritis. ENBREL® can be used with methotrexate in patients who have not responded well to methotrexate alone.
- ankylosing spondylitis (AS)
- chronic, moderate to severe psoriasis

ENBREL® is used in children ages 2 years and older to treat moderately to severely active polyarticular juvenile idiopathic arthritis (JIA).

ENBREL® has not been studied in children under 2 years of age. ENBREL® can help reduce joint damage, and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your immune system. ENBREL® can reduce the amount of TNF in the body to normal levels and block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?" and "What are the possible side effects of ENBREL®?"

Who should not use ENBREL®?

Do not use ENBREL® if you:

- have an infection that has spread through your body (sepsis)
- have ever had an allergic reaction to ENBREL®

What should I tell my doctor before starting ENBREL®?

ENBREL® may not be right for you. Before starting ENBREL®, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have an infection. (See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?")
- have seizures, any numbness or tingling, or a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis
- have heart failure
- are scheduled to have surgery
- are scheduled for any vaccines. All vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting ENBREL®. Patients taking ENBREL® should not receive live vaccines.
- are allergic to rubber or latex. The needle cover on the single-use prefilled syringe and the single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjector contains latex.

Tell your doctor if you are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding. ENBREL® has not been studied in pregnant women or nursing mothers.

Pregnancy Registry: Amgen has a registry for pregnant women exposed to ENBREL®. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Talk to your doctor if you are pregnant and contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Your doctor will tell you if it is okay to take your other medicines while taking ENBREL®. Especially, tell your doctor if you take:

- Kineret® (anakinra). You have a higher chance for serious infections when taking ENBREL® with Kineret®.
- cyclophosphamide. You may have a higher chance for getting certain cancers when taking ENBREL® with cyclophosphamide. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I use ENBREL®?

See the Patient Instructions for Use that comes with your ENBREL® product for complete product instructions. ENBREL® is available as:

- ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled Syringe
 - ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector
 - ENBREL® Multiple-use Vial
- ENBREL® is given by injection under the skin
- Make sure you have been shown how to inject ENBREL® before you do it yourself. Someone you know can also help you with your injection.
- Your doctor will tell you how often you should use ENBREL®. This is based on your condition to be treated. **Do not use ENBREL® more often than prescribed.**
- Do not miss any dose of ENBREL®. Call your doctor if you miss a dose of ENBREL®. Your doctor will tell you when to take your missed dose.
- Your child's weekly dose of ENBREL® depends on his or her weight. Your child's doctor will tell you which form of ENBREL® to use and how much to give your child.

What are the possible side effects of ENBREL®?

Serious side effects have happened in people taking ENBREL®, including:

- **Serious Infections including TB.** See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?"
- **Nervous system problems** such as Multiple Sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes have occurred in rare cases. Symptoms include numbness or tingling, problems with your vision, weakness in your arms and legs, and dizziness.

• **Blood problems.** In rare cases, your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. This can lead to death. Symptoms include a fever that doesn't go away, bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking very pale.

• **Heart failure including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have.** Symptoms include shortness of breath or swelling of your ankles and feet.

• **Allergic reactions.** Signs of an allergic reaction include a severe rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing.

• **Immune reactions including a lupus-like syndrome.** Symptoms include a rash on your face and arms that gets worse in the sun. Symptoms may go away when you stop taking ENBREL®.

• **Lymphoma (a type of cancer).** People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis may have a higher chance for getting lymphoma.

Call your doctor right away if you develop any of the above symptoms.

Common side effects of ENBREL® include:

- **Injection site reactions** such as redness, rash, swelling, itching, or bruising. These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or gets worse, call your doctor.
- **Upper respiratory infections** (sinus infections)
- **Headaches**

These are not all the side effects with ENBREL®. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store ENBREL®?

- Store ENBREL® in the refrigerator at 36° to 46°F (2° to 8°C).
- **Do not freeze.**
- Keep ENBREL® in the original carton to protect from light.
- **Keep ENBREL® and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

General Information about ENBREL®

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use ENBREL® for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ENBREL® to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about ENBREL®. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about ENBREL® that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information call 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-436-2735).

What are the ingredients in ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled Syringe and the Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector?

Active ingredient: etanercept

Inactive ingredients: sucrose, sodium chloride, L-arginine hydrochloride and sodium phosphate

What are the ingredients in ENBREL® Multiple-use Vial?

Active ingredient: etanercept

Inactive ingredients: mannitol, sucrose, tromethamine.

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AMGEN®

Manufactured by Immunex Corporation
Thousand Oaks, CA 91320-1799

Wyeth®

Marketed by Amgen and
Wyeth Pharmaceuticals

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Briefing

THE WORLD □ WHITE HOUSE MEMO □ VERBATIM

□ SPOTLIGHT □ MILESTONES



The Moment

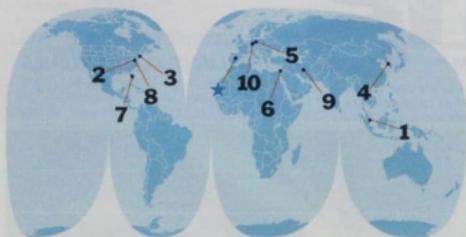
Black Friday: New York City

running up credit-card tabs we couldn't pay off. To a great extent, we've been hectored into behaving more like our parsimonious Pilgrim forebears, whose expression of gratitude we celebrate Nov. 26. But the day after Thanksgiving is Black Friday, the traditional start of the holiday shopping season, and it's in need of all the consumption it can get: conspicuous, ridiculous, tasteless or otherwise. It could take a Snuggie Christmas to keep the economy on the mend. Last holiday season, retailers cut prices so deeply that profits disappeared. Then, for much of the year, shoppers cut back too. "I don't think anyone had ever lived through that big a swing in consumption in such a rapid period of time," says Stephen Sadove, CEO of Saks Inc. This year, savings are up and credit-card use is down, which is good—sort of. Yet keep in mind that the Pilgrims were barely eking out a living, surviving in squalor. They had no access to credit. Thrift is a great virtue, but a little mindless spending this season couldn't hurt. — BY BILL SAPORITO

WE ARE ALL PURITANS NOW. OVER THE PAST two years, Americans have largely stopped spending more money than we had and

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Emissions in cities like Shenyang, in Liaoning province, are enlarging China's carbon footprint

1 | Singapore

A Setback on Climate Change

World leaders signaled they would not seek a legally binding agreement on greenhouse-gas emissions at next month's climate talks in Copenhagen, confirming mounting doubts that the conference would yield a landmark pact. Instead, a coalition including U.S. President Barack Obama and Chinese President Hu Jintao announced at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit that it will aim to build political consensus, paving the way for concrete steps. The biggest challenge will be aligning the interests of developing and industrialized nations: the U.S., among others, argues that because emerging powers like China and India are among the largest emitters, any deal that excludes them—as did the Kyoto Protocol, which expires in 2012—will be inadequate.

Numbers:

5 Number of 2008 Beijing Olympic athletes sanctioned by the International Olympic Committee on Nov. 18 for doping; one gold medalist was stripped of his award

\$1

BILLION

Net worth of Mexican drug lord Joaquin Guzman, named one of the world's most powerful people by *Forbes*

3 | New York City

A Path to Justice

Attorney General Eric Holder announced that five alleged plotters of the Sept. 11 attacks, including confessed mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, will face trial next year in a New York City federal court. Holder and President Obama say they expect prosecutors to push for the death penalty. Critics slammed the decision, claiming that the defendants' presence in New York will create a media circus and put the city at risk of another attack. Experts also noted the legal issues a civilian trial will raise—including the use of evidence obtained through waterboarding, to which Mohammed was subjected 183 times, and the difficulty of finding an impartial jury in a Manhattan courtroom just blocks from where the World Trade Center once stood.

2 | Washington

Amnesty: The New Tax Shelter

The IRS has halted as "historic" the response to its eight-month amnesty program for hidden offshore bank accounts. By the Oct. 15 deadline, some 14,700 Americans—twice the number officials expected—had disclosed billions of dollars held in 70 countries. Most account holders who pay taxes will avoid criminal penalties. As part of a U.S.-led crackdown on tax evasion, the Swiss bank UBS recently agreed to reveal the names of nearly 4,500 American clients with questionable accounts.

4 | Seoul

Hope and Change, on the Road

Barack Obama wrapped up the first Asia trip of his presidency after meeting with several key allies during a seven-day, four-nation tour. While critics called Obama overly deferential and said he did little to advance U.S. interests, the White House said the trip established a firm foundation for progress in the region.

Obama's crowded itinerary

NOV. 13-14: JAPAN Draws conservative criticism for bowing to Emperor Akihito; the State Department terms it a proper show of respect

NOV. 15: SINGAPORE In the first such meeting in 43 years, calls on Burma's Prime Minister to release pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi

NOV. 16-18: CHINA Holds a town-hall forum with students in Shanghai, but few Chinese can watch: it's televised only locally

NOV. 19: SOUTH KOREA The agenda includes a stalled trade pact and efforts to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear ambitions



5 | Berlin

Measuring The World's Worst

This just in: Somalia hasn't gotten any better. For the third year in a row, the African nation topped the annual Corruption Perceptions Index, produced by the global watchdog group Transparency International, because of concerns over rampant piracy off its coasts and the crumbling government. More troubling for the U.S. and its allies, Afghanistan, viewed as the second most corrupt nation, is up three spots from 2008, as its Taliban insurgency has worsened. Iraq, still bedeviled by reconstruction woes, placed fifth.

10 MOST CORRUPT COUNTRIES

1. Somalia
2. Afghanistan
3. Burma
4. Sudan
5. Iraq
6. Chad
7. Uzbekistan
8. Turkmenistan
9. Iran
10. Haiti



6 | Jerusalem

SYMBOLISM VS. REALITY Palestinians in the West Bank gathered Nov. 15 to mark their Independence Day (above), the anniversary of Yasser Arafat's largely symbolic declaration of statehood in 1988. Meanwhile, officials announced their intention to press the U.N. for recognition, citing frustration with stalled peace talks. But with the initiative likely to be rejected, the reality for Palestinians isn't improving. Two days later, Israel defied international demands for a freeze on settlement construction in disputed territory, approving 900 housing units in East Jerusalem.

7 | Orlando

Too Much Faith in Heart Drugs?

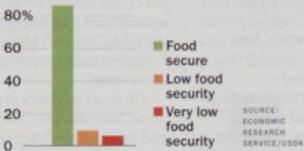
Plain old niacin—a B vitamin—may be better at unclogging arteries than an ingredient in Merck's multibillion-dollar cholesterol drugs Zetia and Vytorin, according to a recent study. It's the third trial in two years to question the pills' effectiveness. Patients are growing skittish: sales of both drugs fell to \$4.56 billion in 2008, down 12% from the year before.

8 | Washington

Hunger in America

More than 14% of U.S. families—17 million households—struggled to put food on the table last year, according to a USDA report that found Americans' food insecurity at its highest level since the government started keeping statistics on hunger in 1995. Nearly 7 million households skipped meals or experienced disrupted eating patterns. Most food-insecure households saw adults go without food to shield children from hunger, although 500,000 families reported that their children were also affected.

Pangs of hunger in U.S. households



Number of Honduran workers who will get their jobs back after Russell Athletic's bid to close a factory rather than let them unionize sparked student protests in the U.S.

1,200

18,500

Estimated number of votes cast by U.S. Senator Robert Byrd, longest-serving lawmaker in congressional history



Ignace Murwanashyaka, a Rwandan militia leader, talks with reporters in Rome in 2005

10 | Germany

Safe Haven No More?

On Nov. 17, German authorities arrested a Rwandan militia leader, along with one of his aides, for allegedly orchestrating war crimes in the Democratic Republic of Congo from his perch in Europe. Prosecutors say that since 2001, Ignace Murwanashyaka has remotely commanded the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), a paramilitary rebel group accused of killing hundreds of Congolese citizens this year. The organization is composed mainly of ethnic Hutu, some of whom are believed to be responsible for the massacre of more than 500,000 Rwandan Tutsi in 1994. The arrest of Murwanashyaka, who has lived in Germany since the 1980s, came just days before a U.N. report revealed direct links between FDLR leaders living in the U.S. and Europe and the current conflict in eastern Congo.

9 | Iran

Punishing Protesters

State media announced Nov. 17 that five defendants in the mass trial of more than 100 accused dissidents were sentenced to death. It was unclear if that included the three capital-punishment sentences meted out last month. Eighty-one others in the case, which stems from demonstrations that followed June's contested presidential election, received prison terms ranging from six months to 15 years.

★ | What They're Teaching in Spain:

Officials in the Extremadura region are facing an outcry over taxpayer-funded sex-ed workshops for teens—including tips on masturbation—unfortunately named Pleasure Is in Your Hands. While organizers say conservative and Catholic critics have distorted the campaign's purpose, an instructor admitted, "The title might have been a mistake."

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

The Deference Debate. In foreign policy, does making nice lead to making progress?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER/SEOUL

LET IT BE KNOWN WITHOUT APOLOGY: Barack Obama is not above the bow. He dipped his head all through Asia—greeting Japan's Emperor with a deep bend at the waist, nodding to Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping on a Beijing tarmac, even bobbing forward in gratitude before his tour guide at the Courtyard of Loyal Obedience in the Forbidden City.

Back in the U.S., the President's many political foes leaped on the gesture as a symbol of submission. "It's not appropriate," chided conservative pundit William Kristol on Fox News. "A spineless blunder," blared the online firebrand Michelle Malkin. But neither the President nor his aides paid much mind. "He doesn't spend a lot of time reading right-wing blogs," explained Robert Gibbs, White House press secretary.

Obama believes that what others dismiss as a weakness is actually a strength. As he traveled across four Asian nations in seven days, the President delivered much the same message he has already delivered to 16 other countries in Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East: the U.S. is no longer interested in simply imposing solutions on other nations. It wants to usher in a "new era of engagement with the world based on mutual interests and mutual respect," as Obama said in Tokyo.

In practice, this means more than just courteous gestures. At almost every stage, Obama has tried to avoid blunt confrontation in favor of something more cooperative. He stopped short of offering an unabashed defense of human rights the way Hillary Clinton did on her 1995

visit to China or a hard-line demand for democracy the way former Vice President Dick Cheney did in Lithuania in 2006. Instead, he has sought at every meeting to focus on common ground, hoping for what he once described as a clearing away of "old preconceptions or ideological dogmas" so that nations will be more likely "to cooperate than not cooperate."

This strategy is a conscious rejection



The lowdown Obama's bow to Japanese Emperor Akihito led some to charge that it was too obsequious

of the Bush Administration's approach, which was never big on deference. The challenge for the President is that with almost a year in office, he has little to show for his global charm campaign beyond a Nobel Prize, soaring international poll approval and the promise of many more diplomatic dialogues to come. As Obama's foreign policy ambitions move beyond the introductory phase, harder questions are coming to the fore: When does politeness lapse into passivity? When does seeking common ground erode the soil that anchors American priorities?

It is, after all, one thing to show deep respect to the crowned head of one of the U.S.'s closest Asian allies but quite another to pose for photographs with the leader of one of the world's most oppressive dictatorships—as Obama did in Singapore at a group meeting that included Thein Sein, the Prime Minister of Burma. Throughout his trip, in fact, Obama was

so focused on trumpeting shared interests that he often glossed over the more central disagreements. At a meeting with college students in Shanghai, for example, Obama qualified his objections to Chinese Internet censorship, saying, "I recognize that different countries have different traditions." In Tokyo, Obama endorsed more talks about U.S. bases on the island of Okinawa, even though Japan had already signed an agreement to let the unpopular garrisons stay.

In terms of definitive progress, the Obama Administration will end the year having

made little more headway than its predecessor: there will be no international climate pact this year, and the deadline for a nuclear-arms deal with Russia will slip into 2010. China offered no concessions on key issues like trade imbalances and human rights. (In fact, its authoritarian government prepped for Obama's arrival by detaining still more dissidents.) Elsewhere in the world, North Korea remains defiant, and Israel—spurning Obama's requests—has announced further settlement expansion.

Sensitive to charges that the U.S. is soft-pedaling its own interests, the President's aides say there was tough talk behind the scenes. In the meeting with the Burmese, for instance, the President spoke out on behalf of Aung San Suu Kyi, the opposition leader who lives under house arrest. In China, Obama called for the communist government to meet with the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan leader. And Obama appeared to be gaining support from Russia for tougher measures against Iran. "Other options remain on the table," Dmitry Medvedev, the Russian President said, stopping short of defining those steps.

Obama's advisers are, for the moment, focused less on final resolutions and more on the long term potential for renewed dialogue. "These are things that will pay off over time," said David Axelrod, one of the President's top aides who traveled to Asia. In other words, this trip was merely Obama's opening bow. Now the real show must begin. ■

Obama believes that what others dismiss as a weakness is actually a strength



My portfolio still hasn't recovered, but my account fees are up.

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Verbatim

'We participated in things that were clearly wrong and have reason to regret. We apologize.'

LLOYD BLANKFEIN, Goldman Sachs' chief executive, speaking during a conference at which he was named CEO of the Year

'I really don't feel that there's currently liberty and justice for all.'

WILL PHILLIPS, a 10-year-old Arkansas boy who has refused to recite the Pledge of Allegiance in school because he has gay friends who are not afforded equal rights

'We got more than just a whiff. We practically tasted it with the impact.'

PETER SCHULTZ, a professor of geologic sciences at Brown University, on an Oct. 9 satellite crash that NASA says confirms the existence of water on the moon

'The first obligation of a country ... is to save the lives of its countrymen.'

JOSE LUIS RODRIGUEZ ZAPATERO, Spain's Prime Minister, after his nation paid a \$3.3 million ransom to Somali pirates in exchange for the release of a Spanish tuna boat and its 36 crew members, who had been held hostage on the Indian Ocean for more than six weeks

'Those are back-assward ways of trying to fix the economy.'

SARAH PALIN, criticizing President Barack Obama's health care and energy proposals during an interview with ABC's Barbara Walters

'Any cloud that crosses me, I'll zap it so that it rains.'

HUGO CHAVEZ, Venezuelan President, on his plan to accompany a team of scientists on a mission to extract precipitation from clouds in an attempt to alleviate a severe drought

'On Dec. 1, we will become man and man.'

JOSE MARIA DI BELLO, of Argentina, who on Nov. 16 was granted a marriage license to wed his partner Alex Freyre in Buenos Aires after a judge ruled that the nation's ban on same-sex nuptials violated its constitution. The union, scheduled for Dec. 1, would be Latin America's first legal gay marriage



TALKING HEADS

Bret Stephens

Defending Afghan President Hamid Karzai in the Wall Street Journal:

"Mr. Karzai is [not] a saint or even much of a statesman. But neither is he a despot, a fanatic, a sybarite, or an uncouth bigot—qualities that typify the leadership of countries for which the U.S. has also expended blood and treasure in defense of lesser causes. Our failures in Afghanistan so far have mainly been our own, and they are ours to fix. To blame Mr. Karzai is to point the finger at the wrong culprit in the pursuit of disastrous, dishonorable defeat." —11/11/09

Max Blumenthal

Explaining Sarah Palin's appeal in the Los Angeles Times:

"Her career has become a vehicle through which the right-wing evangelical movement feels it can express its deepest identity ... Palin is perceived by its leaders—and followers—not as another cynical politician or self-promoting celebrity, but as a kind of magical helper, the God-fearing glamour girl who parachuted into their backwater towns to lift them from the drudgery of daily life, assuring them that they represented the 'real America.'" —11/15/09

William McGurn

Arguing in the Wall Street Journal against the Obama Administration's decision to try accused 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four co-conspirators in the U.S.:

"The perverse message that decision will send to terrorists all over this dangerous world is this: If you kill civilians on American soil you will have greater protections than if you attack our military overseas." —11/16/09

**“ I used to think it was
just a phase, until I had ‘the talk’
with my doctor. ”**

Your Doctor Talks to Men About ED Every Day

Actually, erectile dysfunction (ED) is more than just a phase. It's a common medical condition affecting millions of men just like you. But your doctor can help.



Doctor portrayal.



Keys to Opening Up to Your Doctor

The hardest part about having ‘the talk’ is getting those first few words out. Here are some ideas to help you break the ice when your doctor asks how everything’s going:

The Direct Approach:
“I have trouble sometimes in bed. Could it be ED?”

The Indirect Approach:
“Is it true age affects sexual performance?”

The Silent Approach:
Just hand this ad to your doctor, he’ll take it from there.

Running the Numbers

Did you know half of all guys over 40 have some form of ED? Here are some numbers to keep in mind from a recent survey of men with ED:



of men were anxious about talking to their doctor about ED.



of men felt relieved after talking to their doctor.



Tell Me More

To learn more about VIAGRA for the treatment of ED, and ED in general, visit viagra.com today. You'll find an online sexual health quiz, videos of guys with ED who've had the VIAGRA Talk and other helpful information.

Over 20 million men have already had their VIAGRA Talk. Isn't it time you had yours?

Important Safety Information

We know that no medicine is for everyone. Don't take VIAGRA if you take nitrates, often prescribed for chest pain, as this may cause a sudden unsafe drop in blood pressure.

Talk with your doctor first. Make sure your heart is healthy enough to have sex. If you have chest pain, nausea, or other discomforts during sex, seek medical help right away.

In the rare event of an erection lasting more than four hours, seek immediate medical help to avoid long-term injury.

In rare instances, men who take PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision, or sudden decrease or loss of hearing. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines or to other factors. If you experience any of these symptoms, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. Less common are bluish or blurred vision, or being sensitive to light. These may occur for a brief time.

VIAGRA does not protect against sexually transmitted diseases including HIV.

Please see Important Facts for VIAGRA on the following page or visit viagra.com for full prescribing information.

For free information, including questions to ask your doctor, call 1-888-4VIAGRA (1-888-484-2472).

VIAGRA®
(sildenafil citrate) tablets

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA.

Visit www.FDA.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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IMPORTANT FACTS

VIAGRA®
(sildenafil citrate) tablets

(vi-AG-rah)

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION ABOUT VIAGRA

Never take VIAGRA if you take any medicines with nitrates. This includes nitroglycerin. Your blood pressure could drop quickly. It could fall to an unsafe or life-threatening level.

ABOUT ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION (ED)

Erectile dysfunction means a man cannot get or keep an erection. Health problems, injury, or side effects of drugs may cause ED. The cause may not be known.

ABOUT VIAGRA

VIAGRA is used to treat ED in men. When you want to have sex, VIAGRA can help you get and keep an erection when you are sexually excited. You cannot get an erection just by taking the pill. Only your doctor can prescribe VIAGRA.

VIAGRA does not cure ED.

VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) or HIV. You will need to use a condom.

VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

WHO IS VIAGRA FOR?

Who should take VIAGRA?

Men who have ED and whose heart is healthy enough for sex.

Who should NOT take VIAGRA?

- If you ever take medicines with nitrates:
 - Medicines that treat chest pain (angina), such as nitroglycerin or isosorbide mononitrate or dinitrate
- If you use some street drugs, such as "poppers" (amyl nitrate or nitrite)
- If you are allergic to anything in the VIAGRA tablet.

BEFORE YOU START VIAGRA

Tell your doctor if you have or ever had:

- Heart attack, abnormal heartbeats, or stroke
- Heart problems, such as heart failure, chest pain, or aortic valve narrowing
- Low or high blood pressure
- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
- Other methods to cause erections. These include pills, injections, implants, or pumps.

POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIAGRA

Side effects are mostly mild to moderate. They usually go away after a few hours. Some of these are more likely to happen with higher doses.

The most common side effects are:

- Headache
- Feeling flushed
- Upset stomach

Less common side effects are:

- Trouble telling blue and green apart or seeing a blue tinge on things
- Eyes being more sensitive to light
- Blurred vision

Rarely, a small number of men taking VIAGRA have reported these serious events:

- Having an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If the erection is not treated right away, long-term loss of potency could occur.
- Sudden decrease or loss of sight in one or both eyes. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. They may be caused by conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes. If you have sudden vision changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

HOW TO TAKE VIAGRA

Do:

- Take VIAGRA only the way your doctor tells you. VIAGRA comes in 25 mg, 50 mg, and 100 mg tablets. Your doctor will tell you how much to take.
- If you are over 65 or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg).
- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor tells you. If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
- Do not start or stop any other medicines before checking with your doctor.

NEED MORE INFORMATION?

- This is only a summary of important information. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for complete product information OR
- Go to www.viagra.com or call (888) 4-VIAGRA (484-2472).

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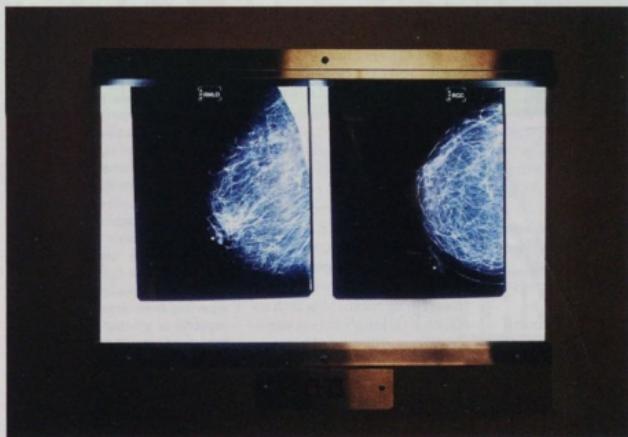
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Spotlight

New Mammogram Guidelines



Screening 180°
New mammography advice confuses women and incenses physicians

THE UPROAR IN THE MEDICAL COMMUNITY WAS immediate. In a reversal of standard practice that bewildered physicians and patients around the nation, an independent government panel this week abandoned its long-standing recommendation that healthy women over age 40 get a breast-cancer screen once every year or two years. The U.S. Preventive Services Task Force began advising women instead to delay regular screening until age 50, and even then, to get tested only every other year.

The American Cancer Society promptly declared it would not modify its guidelines that healthy women over 40 get yearly mammograms. Secretary of Health and Human Services Kathleen Sebelius stated that the government's "policies remain unchanged." And most physicians say they will continue to recommend annual mammograms for women over 40. Meanwhile, thousands of women across the country have been left confused and anxious.

Members of the government panel expected a backlash, but the magnitude of the public response was a revelation. "It's surprising to me not only the amount of reaction but the emo-

tionality and the degree to which this has caused upset," says Dr. Diana Petitti, vice chair of the 16-member task force.

The 16-member panel found that yearly mammograms unquestionably reduced the risk of dying from breast cancer 15% in women under 50. But when weighed against the risks of screening—false positives, additional biopsies and patient anxiety—the relative benefit was too small to recommend screening in younger women. That conclusion has incensed some oncologists. "They are saying that we should take mammography away from women in their 40s because ... these factors outweigh the value of lives saved," says Dr. David Dershaw at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center.

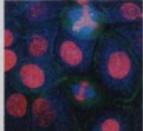
Given the backdrop of health care reform and insurers' preoccupation with cost containment, the major concern is that women under 50 may now stand to lose insurance coverage for

15%
Reduction in breast-cancer deaths due to mammograms

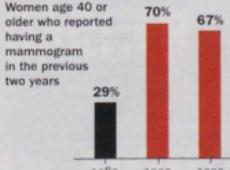
mammography—a preventive test that Medicare is mandated to pay for. But Sebelius rejected the notion. The task force does not "set federal policy, and they don't determine what services are covered by the Federal Government," she said. On the part of the task force, Petitti says the cost of mammography was never mentioned in the panel's discussions.

Still, if confused and frustrated women begin opting out of screening altogether, changing guidelines could erode progress that has been made in reducing breast-cancer deaths. Says Dr. George Sledge, president-elect of the American Society of Clinical Oncologists: "If the end result of all of this were to diminish the number of women having mammograms, then that would be a tragedy." —BY ALICE PARK

WOMEN AT HIGH RISK for breast cancer should continue early screening

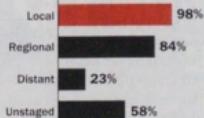


More women are getting routine mammograms ...

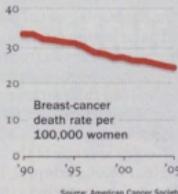


... to help detect breast cancer early ...

Five-year survival rates by stage at diagnosis (1999-2005)



... and reduce breast-cancer deaths



Milestones



David Lloyd

WHEN DAVID WROTE "CHUCKLES Bites the Dust" in 1975, it was the first time anybody had attempted a comedy episode about a terribly tragic situation: the nervous giggles some people get in the midst of a funeral, out of an awareness that this is the one time you should never, ever laugh.

Our director didn't want to do the episode because it was so sensitive, and the network wasn't for it either. But we said, "This is funny," and went ahead with it anyway. We had no idea how popular it would be. We were all praying just for acceptance, not for any cheers. But David's script won us an Emmy.

David, who died Nov. 10 at 75, was one of the few writers who were equally good at writing for male characters as for the femmes. He had a great sense of humor around the set, even when we weren't trying to be funny. He had already written for Jack Paar and Johnny Carson before he joined our show, but I remember his first reading with us. He was lovely and charming a little nervous—and he had the good

grace to let it show just a tiny bit. He listened to other people and enjoyed hearing their stories and experiences. I think that kind of curiosity and empathy really influenced his writing.

He didn't have a distinctive laugh—that was the only thing about him that was not distinctive—and he never laughed out loud at his own jokes. During rehearsals, when the writers emerged from "the cave," as we called the writing room, to watch us on set, he'd laugh at everyone else's lines but never his own. Let me tell you, that's not usually the case. It was one of the things I loved about him.

—BY MARY TYLER MOORE



Moore is an Emmy-winning actress who starred in The Mary Tyler Moore Show from 1970 to '77



Earl Cooley

IT TAKES NERVE TO FIGHT fires. But leaping out of planes and parachuting directly into infernos requires a rare brand of bravery. And no man better exemplified this fearlessness than Montana native Earl Cooley, who died Nov. 9 at 98.

Cooley was one of the original smoke jumpers, fire-fighters who parachute into

remote blazes, often in deep wilderness. His first attempt was less than perfect—which was perhaps not surprising, considering that he had never been in an airplane before. He took his practice runs. In July 1940, Cooley and a colleague leaped out of a plane over a fire in Idaho.



Cooley's parachute lines became tangled on the way down, and he landed in the branches of a spruce tree. But the pair brought the blaze under control by the following morning.

The feat marked the beginning of the Forest Service's smoke-jumpers program, and Cooley became the group's first superintendent. His career wasn't flawless; in 1949, Cooley directed the crew battling the Mann Gulch fire in Montana, at which 12 smoke jumpers lost their lives.

Cooley never forgot the tragedy, but his confidence didn't waver. "I don't know why, but I was never afraid to jump," he once said. That's uncommon nerve, even by the standards of men who leap into flames.

—BY BRYAN WALSH

Yuri Zarakhovich

Yuri Zarakhovich's life was full of skulduggery, danger and crisis. He did, after all, report for TIME as the Soviet empire decayed, fell and tried to resurrect itself as the new Russia. It was two decades of journalistic drama on one of history's biggest stages, with Zarakhovich dodging bullets and traveling from one breakaway republic to another, meeting larger-than-life characters like Vladimir Putin, whom he interviewed along with TIME's editors for our 2007 Person of the Year issue. Zarakhovich was as big a personality as the Russia he loathed and loved. His stories and jokes were like conspiracies, full of asides that were whole tales. If you didn't get the punch line, you laughed anyway because Yuri's laugh was loud and infectious. Zarakhovich, who died Nov. 17 at 63, was living in retirement in Florida and expecting his first grandchild when he was given a diagnosis of pancreatic cancer about a month ago. His daughter had the baby—a boy—the day before Zarakhovich died. She checked out of the hospital early and got the child to Yuri, who held the infant for a few hours before passing away. He named the boy Theodore.



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James

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Survivor: Alaska. Sarah Palin turned campaign 2008 into reality TV. Now she's trying to launch a second act in the media

"YOU DON'T NEED A TITLE TO MAKE A difference," declared Sarah Palin on *Oprah Winfrey*. Well, yes and no. Palin resigned as governor of Alaska last summer, but she came with a title: *Going Rogue*, the title of her new political calling card, autobiography and score settler.

Palin's quote was apt, though, in that her weeklong media blitz seemed to be testing the waters for a new kind of public influence, one outside the politics-as-usual path of "holding office" and "governing" and "finishing your term." And if it meant going through the mainstream media—which *Going Rogue* calls "in many respects, worthless as a source of factual information anymore"—well, a rogue's gotta do what a rogue's gotta do.

The MSM were happy to oblige because Palin is a controversy magnet, attracting devoted fans and bringing out the worst in some critics, drawing sexist insults (an opponent once called her a Spice Girl, she writes) and snooty dismissals (which only boost her outsider image). She has a knack for sound bites, as when she inflamed the health care debate with two words, *death panels*, on Facebook.

But for all her earnestness, Palin also has a media pro's awareness of herself as a TV construct. Summing up her family's public experience for Barbara Walters, she said, "Our life has become kind of a reality show." It's a near perfect analogy. Like a reality contestant, she was plucked from nowhere (or a Bridge to Nowhere), "cast" for her dynamism and compelling personal story. Like a good reality-show premise, she pushed every cultural hot

button in reach (gender, parenting, sex, class resentment). And as with that of Jon and Kate Gosselin, her fame devolved into a tabloid feud, with prodigal grandbaby daddy Levi Johnston now posing in *Playgirl* and bad-mouthing her for a living.

So how does a reality star regain control of her narrative? First, she blames her producers and the editing. *Going Rogue's* villain is Steve Schmidt, the very McCain



mastermind who vetted her as a running mate. Palin argues that if you didn't like her last year, really you didn't like the version of her that her handlers put forth. The botched rollout of her daughter's pregnancy, her getting pranked by a Canadian DJ pretending to be Nicolas Sarkozy, the campaign wardrobe bills—blame it all on Schmidt and the stuffed shirts. They couldn't deal with the rogue!

Ditto the Katie Couric interview—which Palin, to her credit, admits was a bust. (Note to future candidates: never assume a network-news interview will be "lighthearted" and "fun.") But it turns out your impressions of her from Couric are probably mistaken too. Did it seem that, when Couric asked what newspapers and magazines she read, Palin filibustered, unable to think up a single title? *Wrong!* What the untrained eye saw as flop

sweat was actually annoyance at Couric's condescension, says Palin; also, she was edited to look bad. (Palin has a way of making *edited* sound sinister in itself, as if most TV interviews were aired uncut.)

In the Couric interview, Palin had to convince voters she was ready to lead the country if need be. For her relaunch with Oprah and Barbara, the bar was lower: to show America that she could make it through interviews with Oprah and Barbara. (A full-court press from *The View*—now that would be a challenge.) She reined in her wild syntax, tossed about folksyisms like "bullcrap" and called President Obama's economic policies "back-assward." And she stressed her average-Jane image: she let Oprah's cameras follow her to the gym; in her book, she recalls going door to door to run for mayor of Wasilla, Alaska, with two kids in a wagon and a toddler in a backpack.

Gone, at least for the big network audience, was the culture warrior who praised the "pro-America areas" of America. (Though her book tour itinerary looks like a battleground-state campaign map.) Invited by Walters to rate Obama on a scale of 1 to 10, Palin gave him a 4—a charitable score for a guy she accused of scheming to deny lifesaving care to the elderly and disabled. Whom do you have to kill to get a 3 around here?

The big question Palin never answered is how she plans to make her "difference." A talk show? She demurs (but thanks several "bold and patriotic, fair and balanced" conservative talkers in her book's acknowledgments). A presidential run? "Not on my radar." Her political-action group is offering signed copies of *Going Rogue* to contributors, though, so politics must at least be on her sonar.

Still, a public figure could get used to the freelance life. Through her book (and Facebook), Palin gets to control her story. The interviews don't involve pop quizzes. And at a reported \$5 million for *Going Rogue*, the paydays are lush. November 2012 is three years off, an eternity in the evolution of a reality-TV star. For now, there's no business like rogue business. ■

How does a political reality star regain control of her narrative? First, she blames her producers and the editing



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Riding the Waves

Believers in financial-market cycles can seem a little nutty. That doesn't mean they're wrong

WHEN TIMES ARE GOOD IN FINANCIAL markets, we're willing to convince ourselves that they're good for a reason. The fundamentals are great, the experts tell us. Innovation is creating new opportunities and new wealth. We've gotten better at managing risk. After a few years of market trouble, though, the tone changes. "When the trend is sideways to down, they think the machine is broken," says Robert Prechter. "Jeez, it can't be us."

Wanna bet? Prechter does. He has made a career out of his belief that financial markets are ruled not by fundamentals but by waves of irrational behavior. Lately, after a long run of relative obscurity, he's been getting lots of attention. So have other believers in cycles and waves: the *New Yorker* recently expended 10 pages on Martin Armstrong, a self-taught forecaster (currently imprisoned for fraud) who made several eerily on-the-mark calls using a formula based on the mathematical constant pi. Prechter appeared in that piece too, but only briefly. He comes across as too reasonable to play a starring role in such a contorted tale.

Prechter, a soft-spoken, thoughtful, engaging 60-year-old, believes that the bull market of the past eight months that pushed the Dow past 10,000 will inevitably give way to a crash that will drag prices well below the level of early March. He believes this because theories of market behavior put to paper by a guy who died in 1948 tell him so. Yet he makes it all sound perfectly plausible.

After studying psychology at Yale and then playing drums in a pop-music group that never hit it big, Prechter joined

Merrill Lynch in 1975 to do technical analysis, also known as chart-reading—the search for patterns in the movements of securities. The most famous of technical approaches is Dow theory, a rough model of market waves originally described by *Wall Street Journal* co-founder Charles Dow at the turn of the 20th century and refined and popularized in the subsequent decades by *Journal* editor William Peter Hamilton. Prechter stud-



ied Dow theory but soon moved on to the mostly forgotten work of Ralph Nelson Elliott, an accountant who, while bedridden in the 1930s, charted stock-price movements and found intricate patterns based on the Fibonacci number sequence (in which, after 0 and 1, each number is the sum of the previous two: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, etc.). The Fibonacci series, like pi, appears frequently in nature.

Prechter republished Elliott's books and in 1979 went into the forecasting business for himself at what he dubbed the Elliott Wave Institute. In 1981 he moved his operation to Gainesville, Ga., an hour north of Atlanta, and he's been there ever since. His accurate forecasts of a stock-market boom in the 1980s and a crash in the autumn of 1987 made him, for a time, one of the most influential Wall Street gurus. After the market



Extra Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to time.com/curiouscapitalist

started its 1990s bull run, though, Prechter seemed to lose his touch. In 1995 his book *At the Crest of the Tidal Wave* predicted the onset of a "great bear market." The bear arrived, but not for five years. In 2002's *Conquer the Crash* he predicted the onset of a "deflationary depression." Again, he was years early.

Prechter readily admits that he's far from infallible. The standard he says he wants to be held to is similar to that of a hitter in baseball, in which batting .300 makes one a star and .400 an immortal. He has concluded that time is a "quite elastic" variable when it comes to Elliott's waves.

In other words, he's wrong a lot. But so are conventional economic forecasters, especially at the market turning points that can have the biggest impact on investors' portfolios. This is because, Prechter argues, standard economic models of financial markets depict prices as reflections—imperfect, perhaps, but still reflections—of true value. He believes instead that "waves of social mood are the driving factor" of both market moves and, to a certain extent, economic reality. He calls this approach sociometrics, and he's doing what he can—he Georgia operation now includes a sociometrics institute—to put it onto academic curriculums.

So far that's happened only at a few off-the-beaten-track colleges. But mainstream economists, who had long dismissed market cycles as nonsense, have begun to come around at least a little. Yale's Robert Shiller describes market booms and busts as the product of fashion and animal spirits. A trio of academics revisited a famous 1934 paper that debunked the predictions of Dow theorist Hamilton and found that, adjusted for risk, Hamilton's predictions beat the market. MIT's Andrew Lo, a top finance scholar, has made technical analysis one of his main research topics. So maybe there is something to it. Or maybe this is just evidence of a social wave in action. ■

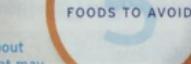
Prechter believes that the bull market of the past eight months will inevitably give way to a crash that will drag prices well below the level of early March

Learn about foods that may raise cholesterol

FOODS TO AVOID



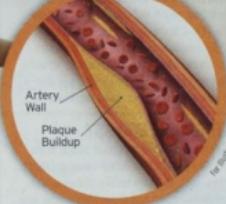
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Talk to your doctor about plaque buildup, and ask if CRESTOR is right for you.

Important Safety Information about CRESTOR: In adults, CRESTOR is prescribed along with diet for lowering high cholesterol. CRESTOR is also prescribed along with diet to slow the progression of atherosclerosis (the buildup of plaque in arteries) as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal. CRESTOR has not been approved to prevent heart disease, heart attacks, or strokes.

CRESTOR is not right for everyone, including anyone who has previously had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR, anyone with liver problems, or women who are nursing, pregnant, or who may become pregnant. Your doctor will do blood tests before and during treatment with CRESTOR to monitor your liver function. Unexplained muscle pain and weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. The 40-mg dose of CRESTOR is only for patients who do not reach goal on 20 mg. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking any medications. Side effects occur infrequently and include headache, muscle aches, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea.

Please read the important Product Information about CRESTOR on the adjacent page.

If you're without prescription coverage and can't afford your medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help.

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Please read this summary carefully and then ask your health care professional about CRESTOR. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you. This advertisement does not take the place of careful discussions with your health care professional.

Only your health care professional has the training to help weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

WHAT IS CRESTOR?

CRESTOR is a prescription medicine that belongs to a group of cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins. Along with diet, CRESTOR lowers "bad" cholesterol (LDL-C), increases "good" cholesterol (HDL-C), and also slows the progression of atherosclerosis in adults with high cholesterol, as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal.

WHAT IS CHOLESTEROL?

Cholesterol is a fatty substance, also called a lipid, normally found in your bloodstream. Your body needs a certain amount of cholesterol to function properly. But high cholesterol can lead to health problems. LDL-C is called bad cholesterol because if you have too much in your bloodstream, it can become a danger to your health and can lead to potentially serious conditions. HDL-C is known as good cholesterol because it may help remove excess cholesterol. Common health factors such as diabetes, high blood pressure, smoking, obesity, family history of early heart disease, and age can make controlling your cholesterol even more important.

WHAT IS ATHEROSCLEROSIS?

Atherosclerosis is the progressive buildup of plaque in the arteries over time. One major cause is high levels of LDL-C. Other health factors, such as family history, diabetes, high blood pressure, or if you smoke or are overweight, may also play a role in the formation of plaque in arteries. Often this plaque starts building up in arteries in early adulthood and gets worse over time.

HOW DOES CRESTOR WORK?

Most of the cholesterol in your blood is made in the liver. CRESTOR works by reducing cholesterol in two ways: CRESTOR blocks an enzyme in the liver causing the liver to make less cholesterol, and CRESTOR increases the uptake and breakdown by the liver of cholesterol already in the blood.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE CRESTOR?

Do not take CRESTOR if you:

- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant. CRESTOR may harm your unborn baby. If you become pregnant, stop taking CRESTOR and call your health care professional right away
- are breast-feeding. CRESTOR can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby
- have liver problems
- have had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR or are allergic to any of its ingredients. The active ingredient is rosuvastatin calcium. The inactive ingredients are microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, tribasic calcium phosphate, crospovidone, magnesium stearate, hypromellose, triacetin, titanium dioxide, yellow ferric oxide, and red ferric oxide

The safety and effectiveness of CRESTOR have not been established in children.

HOW SHOULD I TAKE CRESTOR?

- Take CRESTOR exactly as prescribed by your health care professional. Do not change your dose or stop CRESTOR without talking to your health care professional, even if you are feeling well
- Your health care professional may do blood tests to check your cholesterol levels before and during your treatment with CRESTOR. Your dose of CRESTOR may be changed based on these blood test results
- CRESTOR can be taken at any time of day, with or without food
- Swallow the tablets whole
- Your health care professional should start you on a cholesterol-lowering diet before giving you CRESTOR. Stay on this diet when you take CRESTOR
- Wait at least 2 hours after taking CRESTOR to take an antacid that contains a combination of aluminum and magnesium hydroxide
- If you miss a dose of CRESTOR, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take 2 doses of CRESTOR within 12 hours of each other
- If you take too much CRESTOR or overdose, call your health care professional or Poison Control Center right away or go to the nearest emergency room

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL BEFORE TAKING CRESTOR?

Tell your health care professional if you:

- have a history of muscle pain or weakness
- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant
- are breast-feeding
- drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily
- have liver problems
- have kidney problems
- have thyroid problems
- are Asian or of Asian descent

Tell your health care professional about all medicines you take or plan to take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may interact with CRESTOR, causing side effects. It is particularly important to tell your health care professional if you are taking or plan to take medicines for

- your immune system
- cholesterol/triglycerides
- blood thinning
- HIV/AIDS
- preventing pregnancy

Know all of the medicines you take and what they look like. It's always a good idea to check that you have the right prescription before you leave the pharmacy and before you take any medicine.

(continued)

Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your health care professional. If you need to go to the hospital or have surgery, tell all of your health care professionals about all medicines that you are taking.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF CRESTOR?

CRESTOR can cause side effects in some people. Serious side effects may include:

Muscle problems. Call your health care professional right away if you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, especially with fever. This may be an early sign of a rare muscle problem that could lead to serious kidney problems. The risk of muscle problems is greater in people who are 65 years of age or older, or who already have thyroid or kidney problems. The chance of muscle problems may be increased if you are taking certain other medicines with CRESTOR.

Liver problems. Your health care professional should do blood tests before you start taking CRESTOR and during treatment to check for signs of possible liver problems.

The most common side effects may include headache, muscle aches and pains, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea.

This is not a complete list of side effects of CRESTOR. Talk to your health care professional for a complete list or if you have side effects that bother you or that do not go away.

HOW DO I STORE CRESTOR?

Store CRESTOR at room temperature, 68–77°F (20–25°C), in a dry place. If your health care professional tells you to stop treatment or if your medicine is out of date, throw the medicine away. Keep CRESTOR and all medicines in a secure place and out of the reach of children.

WHERE CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR?

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The Fall of Greg Craig

How Obama's lawyer sparked a battle royal when he tried to keep some of the President's campaign promises in the war on terrorism

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI AND MICHAEL WEISSKOPF

NEARLY 100 DAYS AFTER BARACK Obama entered office, his top White House lawyer, Greg Craig, braced the President's senior advisers for a potentially explosive development. The Administration was preparing to release photographs of suspected terrorists being abused in U.S. custody. On April 16, Craig asked chief of staff Rahm Emanuel to focus on the issue. Emanuel pleaded for more time to bury the release behind other news.

The White House made public its plans to release the photos seven days later, triggering a powerful reprisal inside and outside the Obama Administration. The images included those of U.S. soldiers pointing guns at one detainee's head and a broom-



METTING IN THE OVAL OFFICE: CRAIG, RIGHT, TO ROLL BACK BUSH-Era POLICIES IN THE WAR ON TERRORISM.

stick at the backside of another. Obama's field commanders advised that U.S. troops would die in an extremist reprisal if the release went ahead. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates originally supported the release, then opposed it. Republicans pummeled Obama for taking unnecessary risks with national security. Even John Kerry publicly voiced concern about the fallout.

Less than three weeks later, Obama pulled a U-turn. When Craig walked into the Oval Office on Friday, May 8, for a hastily called meeting, the normally placid Obama was visibly unhappy. "I don't like my options," the President said. Craig told the President his lawyers had concluded there was no alternative to releasing the photos. Obama sent Craig scrambling for a new way

The inner circle Obama turned to Craig, right, to roll back Bush-era policies in the war on terrorism. But by September, Craig had been sidelined by pragmatists



out. Three days later, Craig had found a loop-hole: instead of releasing the photos, Obama would buy time by fighting their release all the way to the Supreme Court.

Interviews with two dozen current and former officials show that Obama's public decision to reverse himself and fight the release of the photographs signaled a behind-the-scenes turning point in his young presidency. Beginning in the first two weeks of May, Obama took harder lines on government secrecy, on the fate of prisoners at Guantánamo Bay and on the prosecution of terrorists worldwide. The President was moving away from some promises he had made during the campaign and toward more moderate positions, some favored by George W. Bush. At the same time, he quietly shifted responsibility for the legal framework for counterterrorism from Craig to political advisers overseen by Emanuel, who was more inclined to strike a balance between left and right.

The unseen struggle took place in the spring, but the results are emerging now. On Nov. 13, Attorney General Eric Holder unveiled plans to try Guantánamo Bay detainees in federal courts, as preferred by liberals, but he also announced he would try other suspected terrorists using extrajudicial proceedings out of Bush's playbook. The Administration is preparing to unveil its blueprint for closing the prison, but Obama will do so using some of the same Bush-era legal tools he once deplored.

The White House says Obama hasn't changed, just adjusted. "He and the Administration have adapted as we have learned more and the issues have evolved, but there has not been an ideological shift," says spokesman Ben LaBolt.

In any case, not everyone will be there for the next evolution. Last Friday, while the President was in Asia, Craig announced his resignation.

Revolt of the CIA Directors

FOUR DAYS AFTER THE 2008 ELECTION, Obama tasked Craig with dismantling Bush's interrogation and detention policies. Craig seemed the logical choice. An Ivy League-trained lawyer and former top staffer for Ted Kennedy, he had taken on politically unpopular causes over the years, including representing Elián González's fa-

ther in his effort to return his son to Cuba. Craig helped defend his law-school classmate Bill Clinton against impeachment, but he broke from the Clintons in 2007 to back Obama and became a key player in his meteoric rise to the presidency.

Avuncular and white-maned, Craig had at one time imagined he might steer foreign policy in the new Administration, possibly as National Security Adviser. Instead, he was named Obama's top lawyer. Craig lost no time creating one of the largest White House counsel's offices ever, with dozens of high-powered lawyers, compared with only a handful who served under Bush in early 2001. Staffed with brainy graduates of Yale and Harvard law schools, Craig's office was an instant power center in the White House, able to produce answers, memos and ideas seemingly overnight while other parts of the Administration were still getting up and running.

Craig won early victories for the liberal agenda. Against resistance from the intelligence agencies, he drafted a series of Executive Orders that ended the CIA's "enhanced interrogation" of suspected terrorists, suspended extrajudicial powers for holding and trying detainees and set a one-year deadline to close the prison at Guantánamo Bay. Obama signed the orders two days into his Administration. Craig was delivering much of the change Obama had promised during the campaign.

But Bush's legacy in the war on terrorism was being rolled back even faster in the courts, and soon Obama and Craig found themselves not rallying reformers but playing defense against the American Civil Liberties Union, which had sued the government under Bush in search of mountains of data and documents. The courts had ordered Bush to release classi-



fied Department of Justice memos that detailed and endorsed the use of harsh tactics like sleep deprivation in the CIA's interrogation of suspects. On March 15, Craig informed Obama that, faced with a court deadline, the Justice Department planned to make public these so-called torture memos in three days. As with the abuse photos, the issue tested Obama's commitment to openness.

Obama, a one-time constitutional law professor, told Craig he needed more time and asked for an extension. But when Michael Hayden, Bush's CIA director who had stayed on in Obama's first month, learned that the memos might be released, he went ballistic.

"What are you doing?" Hayden, just retired, demanded in a March 18 call to Craig. If Obama released the memos, Hayden argued, al-Qaeda would be able to train its warriors to resist the techniques described in their contents.

"The President is never going to authorize any of those techniques," Craig replied assuredly, so there was no danger in disclosing the methods to the enemy.

An all-hands, full-dress battle over where to strike the balance between civil liberties and national security was under way



At Obama's side Top aide McDonough argued against the release of the torture memos

Hayden pressed on: "Lemme get this right. There are no conditions of threat this nation might face that would prompt you to interrupt the sleep cycle of somebody who may have lifesaving information?"

There was a long silence. Craig would not concede the point.

Hayden didn't give up. He helped organize a group of former CIA directors to lobby Obama aides against the release. George Tenet, the CIA chief who presided over the harshest techniques, called his former aide John Brennan, now Obama's top counterterrorism adviser; Clinton CIA chief John Deutch called Deputy National Security Adviser Tom Donilon. Inside the West Wing, the former directors found that a small group of like-minded allies close to Obama was already forming in opposition to Craig. One was National Security Council (NSC) aide Denis McDonough, a former Senate staffer who has a windowless, low-ceilinged basement office next to the Situation Room—and daily access to the President. On April 15, the day before the extension was set to expire, the President invited eight offi-

cers of the CIA's Counterterrorism Center to make their case against release in an Oval Office meeting with Obama. An all-hands, full-dress battle over where to strike the balance between civil liberties and national security was under way.

That night, after dinner with his family, the President called his chief of staff, Emanuel. "I've been thinking about [the memos]," Obama said. "Well, we're meeting on it right now," Emanuel replied.

Obama arrived at Emanuel's office a few minutes later, took off his windbreaker and sat down at a table lined with about a dozen national-security and political advisers. He asked each to state a position and then convened an impromptu debate, selecting Craig and McDonough to argue opposing sides. Craig deployed one of Obama's own moral arguments: that releasing the memos "was consistent with taking a high road" and was "sensitive to our values and our traditions as well as the rule of law." Obama paused, then decided in favor of Craig, dictating a detailed statement explaining his position that would be released the next day.

But for Craig, it turned out to be a Pyr-

hic victory. Four days later, former Vice President Dick Cheney attacked Obama on Fox News Channel for dismantling the policies he and Bush had put in place to keep the country safe. More significant was the reaction within Obama's camp. Democratic pollsters charted a disturbing trend: a drop in Obama's support among independents, driven in part by national-security issues. Emanuel quietly delegated his aides to get more deeply involved in the process. Damaged by the episode, Craig was about to suffer his first big setback.

The Fate of Guantánamo Bay

OBAMA REPEATEDLY PROMISED DURING the presidential campaign to close the prison at Guantánamo Bay, but Guantánamo proved much easier to say than to do. Craig was under pressure to eliminate related Bush policies that made it infamous: indefinite detention without charge or trial and the use of military commissions—special courts that curtailed defendants' rights.

On April 17, Craig took the first step, assembling officials from across government in his office. Not only was he going to bring some prisoners from Guantánamo Bay to the U.S. for trial, he told them, but he was also going to turn some of the detainees loose. Seventeen were Uighurs, members of an ethnic minority from northwestern China, whom Bush and the courts judged had been wrongly swept up in Afghanistan and Pakistan after 9/11. Obama's top national-security advisers—including Gates, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and others—had approved Craig's plan to release two Uighurs in northern Virginia.

The move was part of a global game to empty the prison. If the two settled without incident, six more would be let into the U.S. That in turn would help the State Department persuade other countries to take Gitmo detainees. The hope was that those remaining could be tried in federal courts. At the April 17 meeting, Craig directed some of the officials to plan security measures for monitoring the Uighurs once they got to the U.S. and others to develop a plan to convince Congress and the public that it was a good idea. The Uighurs' lawyers agreed to a number of intrusive measures, including ankle bracelets, to assuage security concerns. "It was a matter of days, not weeks," until the Uighurs



In the Oval Office
Emanuel, left, took political control of issues once driven by Craig

would arrive, says a top Defense official.

But inside the White House, the mood had changed amid the furor over the release of the torture memos in April. McDonough and other NSC advisers assembled in the Oval Office to discuss it. Obama raised questions about security—were the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security on board? Separately, his legislative-affairs staff warned of stiff congressional resistance—and Republicans responded on cue. Word of the plan leaked on April 24, and Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell launched three weeks of near daily attacks on the idea of letting the Uighurs loose in the U.S. Dick Durbin, Obama's mentor and the Democrats' No. 2 in the Senate, called the White House asking for ammunition to fight back against McConnell and the Republicans. "What's our plan?" Durbin asked.

Unwilling to execute Craig's plan, the White House had no backup. Though Durbin thought it could win the fight, Obama's political team worried about antagonizing lawmakers at a time when the President was seeking more money for Iraq and Afghanistan as well as a host of economic concerns. "The precincts were reporting that there was going to be stiff opposition" to Craig's Guantánamo plan, says a top official. It became "a question of what is achievable," he adds.

Obama quietly killed the Gitmo plan in the second week of May; Craig never got a chance to argue the case to the President. "It was a political decision, to put it bluntly," says an aide. The stumble had long term consequences: later that month, Congress blocked the release of Guantánamo detainees

ees in the U.S. and restricted their transfer there for trial. The White House realized it had to start over on a signature issue.

The Final Days of Greg Craig

OBAMA NEEDED TO REGAIN CONTROL quickly, and he started by jettisoning liberal positions he had been prepared to accept—and had even okayed—just weeks earlier. First to go was the release of the pictures of detainee abuse. Days later, Obama sided against Craig again, ending the suspension of Bush's extrajudicial military commissions. The following week, Obama pre-empted an ongoing debate among his national-security team and embraced one of the most controversial of Bush's positions: the holding of detainees without charges or trial, something he had promoted during the campaign to reject.

To explain these moves, Obama turned to a device he often uses to transcend political divisions: a major speech. Delivered at the National Archives on May 21, Obama's address struck a new equilibrium between security and civil liberties—a stark contrast

'The precincts were reporting there was going to be stiff opposition' to Craig's Gitmo plan on Capitol Hill

—A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL,
EXPLAINING WHY OBAMA KILLED
CRAIG'S PLAN TO BRING DETAINEES
TO THE U.S.

to the security-at-any-cost approach advocated by Cheney, but also a departure from his direction at the start of 2009. The President pointed out that he had ended "enhanced interrogation" and closed the CIA's secret prisons. But he also pledged to "use all elements of our power to defeat" al-Qaeda.

Obama's Archives speech is now the template for Administration policy. Attorney General Holder recently announced that the U.S. would prosecute to Guantánamo detainees, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four other plotters of the 9/11 attacks. But he also announced, to the chagrin of human-rights groups, that five other Guantánamo detainees would go before the military commissions Obama had shunned in his campaign but embraced in May. Obama will soon announce that detainees will face indefinite detention.

Craig watched the Archives speech from the second row—close enough to see the writing on the wall. Emanuel had assigned Pete Rouse, a top adviser, to oversee the political side of Craig's old domain and Donilon to chair an interagency group on policy. Craig continued to attend the meetings but said little, according to participants. Administration officials began to whisper about Craig's prospects in August.

Obama announced his intention Nov. 13 to replace Craig with Bob Bauer, whose specialty is election law. In his resignation letter to Obama, Craig wrote, "I want to tell you how proud I am of all that your legal team has accomplished on your behalf and in support of your agenda since your Inauguration." For Craig, however, the agenda had changed.



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Ever present danger Nearly 1 in 5 service members sent to Afghanistan or Iraq develops symptoms of PTSD or major depression

The Hell Of PTSD

Posttraumatic stress can terrorize veterans, their families and military communities. How one Navy veteran—and one Army town—is coping

BY TIM MCGIRK / COLORADO SPRINGS

IN RETROSPECT, DISNEYLAND WASN'T an ideal family-vacation spot for Mark Waddell, a Navy SEAL commander whose valor in combat hid the fact that he was suffering from severe mental trauma. The noise of the careening rides, the shrieking kids—everything roused Waddell to a state of hypervigilance typical of his worst days in combat. When an actor dressed as Goofy stuck his long, doggy muzzle into his face, Waddell recalls, "I wanted to grab Goofy by the throat."

It has long been taboo in military cultures for soldiers to complain about the invisible wounds of war. After a distinguished career as a SEAL commando, Waddell reached his breaking point following the worst disaster in SEAL history, in June 2005: a Chinook helicopter filled with eight SEALs and eight Army aviators was shot down while trying to rescue four comrades trapped by a Taliban ambush in the Kunar Mountains in Afghanistan. Waddell, who was stationed at the unit's base in Virginia Beach, had the agonizing task of sorting through the remains of his dead men—young warriors he had fought beside, maimed and led into battle. He also had to tell their families of the deaths. One wife, he recalls, "just ran away from me, ran down the street. I could understand." By Waddell's reckoning, he attended more than 64 memorial services for his friends and comrades in arms. "Finally," says Waddell, "I raised my hand and said I needed help." The doctors' diagnosis: Waddell was suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)—known in previous conflicts as combat fatigue.

For Waddell, the diagnosis was a long time in coming. Several years earlier, his wife Marshéle Carter Waddell and their three kids had noticed that everyday things like a whining vacuum cleaner could trigger his rages. Even his kids riled him. "I'd come back from stepping over corpses with their entrails hanging out, and my kids would be upset because their TiVo wasn't working," he recalls. Arriving home from one combat mission, Waddell insisted on sleeping with a gun under his pillow. Another night, he woke up from a nightmare with his fingers wrapped around his wife's throat, her face turning blue. Marshéle had to change the sheets every morning because of her husband's night sweats. "I had an emergency evacuation plan for myself and the family," says

Marshéle. "You feel physically unsafe."

At 48, now retired from the Navy and living in Colorado, Waddell is a thoughtful, good-humored man with a quick, catlike energy. After years on the clandestine side of combat, the idea of sharing secrets—especially those of a personal nature—doesn't come easily to him. But as agonizing as it is to relive the experiences of his ongoing bout with PTSD, he and Marshéle agreed to talk to TIME in an effort to sound the alarm for what has become a broader problem: the vast number of men and women returning from punishing stretches in Iraq and Afghanistan bearing the psychological scars of war. "By speaking out," says Waddell, "maybe it will help someone's son or daughter in the forces."

PTSD wasn't recognized as an illness until the 1980s, but it has been around for as long as men have been killing one another. Its symptoms include the abuse of alcohol and other drugs, an overall emotional numbness punctuated by outbursts of rage, severe depression and recurring nightmares. In extreme cases, it can lead to suicide or murder. One military doctor described PTSD's symptoms as "going from zero to combat speed in nothing flat."

The incidence of PTSD is on the rise as two wars drag on. In April, a Rand Corp. study concluded that 1 out of almost every 5 military service members on combat tours—about 300,000 so far—returns home with symptoms of PTSD or major depression. "Anyone who goes through multiple deployments is going to be affected," says Dr. Matthew Friedman, director



A lengthy ordeal Mark Waddell, a former Navy SEAL, got treatment for PTSD after months of pleading by his wife Marshéle

of the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs' National Center for PTSD. But nearly half of these cases, according to the Rand study, go untreated because of the stigma that the military and civil society attach to mental disorders. The suspect in the Fort Hood shootings, Major Nidal Malik Hasan, counseled returning vets with PTSD, though there is no proof that this work unleashed his demons. But as Antoinette Zeiss, deputy chief of mental-health services for Veterans Affairs says, "Anyone who works with PTSD clients and hears their stories will be profoundly affected."

Down the road from the Waddells' home lies Colorado Springs, home to Fort Carson and the 4th Infantry Division, a spearhead in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Like those cycling in and out of Fort Hood, many soldiers at Fort Carson have endured at least two tours of duty, some three or more, sometimes with only a few months sandwiched in for them to reacquaint themselves with their families. Since 2007, eight men—all from a single combat-weary 500-man infantry battalion nicknamed Lethal Warriors—have been charged with carrying out a string of murders and attempted murders in Colorado Springs. So far, four have been convicted. In a drive-by shooting, a young couple was killed while hanging up signs for a garage sale; a woman was run over by a car and repeatedly stabbed; a learning-disabled teenage girl was taken into the woods, was raped and had her throat slashed. One soldier was shot five times by drinking buddies from his battalion; another was robbed of \$20 by a fellow soldier and then shot point-blank. During the trials of these infantrymen, their lawyers claimed that prior to carrying out the crimes, they had all displayed classic symptoms of PTSD during and after their combat tours in Iraq. Other soldiers fall into a spiral of depression and kill themselves—so many, in fact, that idyllic Colorado Springs has one of the highest suicide rates in the country. (Army figures show that 76% of soldiers who committed suicide this year had served at least one tour of duty in Iraq or Afghanistan.) As Colorado Springs police commander Fletcher Howard cautions, "If a guy comes home disturbed from Iraq, he's going to close the door. We don't know what we don't know."

Taken for Granted

SOLDIERS WHO SERVE IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN may not experience the hostility from society upon their return to the U.S. that Vietnam vets did. But they encounter something that psychologists say is nearly as disorienting: America has found ways to distract itself from the fact that it has dispatched 1.6 million service members to two wars and kept them fight-

Crime Spree in Colorado Springs

The 2nd Battalion of the 4th Infantry Division's 4th Brigade Combat Team is known as the Lethal Warriors. Since 2007, eight members have been accused of murder or attempted murder



Specialist Robert Hull Marko

CRIME Allegedly raped and slit the throat of Judiliana Lawrence, a 19-year-old woman with a severe learning disability, on Old Stage Road
MILITARY SERVICE Iraq war, heavy combat
STATUS Awaiting trial for first-degree murder

ing for far longer than the duration of World War II. This struck Waddell while he was at a mall, when a shopper asked him how he broke his leg. "Iraq," Waddell answered. The reply: "Was it a car wreck or a cycle wreck?" Colorado Springs psychologist Kelly Orr, who is treating the ex-Navy SEAL, says, "We get all excited when Johnny goes marching off to war, and then we forget about him a few days later when our favorite football team loses a game." This, says Orr, adds to a returnee's well of anger and loneliness.

Waddell became an expert at hiding his PTSD symptoms from his fellow SEALs. Despite his wife's constant pleas for him to seek help, Waddell's standard reply was, "I don't have a problem. You do." It took a full six months after the SEALs' disaster in Afghanistan before Waddell admitted to Marshéle that he was hurting. "Training inoculates you against trauma. The first

time you see someone dead, it's a shock. By the 10th time, you're walking over dead bodies and making sick jokes about what they had for breakfast. But all that stress accumulates." Says Marshéle: "Mark was like the captain of the *Titanic* after it hit the iceberg. He had compartmentalized everything beautifully, but all these compartments were filling up with water. The ship was sinking, and he was the last to know."

When Waddell finally sought treatment, he was ordered to report to a Norfolk, Va., mental-health facility at 5 a.m., wearing his civvies—as though, he mused, it was taboo for anyone in uniform to admit they might be cracking up. As in other areas, the military is undermanned when it comes to mental-health experts. The Army reckons it has only about 400 psychiatrists handling more than half a million troops. That may have been one reason the Army was reluctant to nudge a strangely performing Hasan, who had trained as a shrink, out of the service it needed him. Faced with a wave of service members coming back from combat in anguish, the Pentagon has made the diagnosis and treatment of posttraumatic disorders a top priority. Every battalion, especially in combat zones, is now supposed to have a mental-health specialist.

Care varies from base to base. The previous commander at Fort Carson, Major General Mark Graham, became an advocate for improved mental-health care for

A cure means 'being able to get on the floor and play with your kids. Then you know you're home.'

—COLONEL GEORGE BRANDT,
BEHAVIORAL-HEALTH CHIEF, FORT CARSON'S EVANS HOSPITAL

**PFC Jomar Falu-Vives**

CRIME Allegedly shot and killed Cesar Ramirez-Ibanez, 20, and Amairany Cervantes, 18, as they put up a garage-sale sign near this corner
MILITARY SERVICE Iraq war, one tour
STATUS On trial for first-degree murder

**PFC Bruce Alan Bastien Jr.**

CRIME With a buddy, he forced PFC Robert James to kneel in this parking lot, then robbed and killed him
MILITARY SERVICE Iraq war, two tours
STATUS Pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit murder; sentenced to 60 years



soldiers after he lost two sons in military service—one in Iraq and the other to suicide. At Fort Carson, the base hospital is expanding its facilities for mental-health and family therapy, with regular counseling sessions for soldiers and their spouses. But it takes a while for a general's orders to trickle down to the ranks, where platoon leaders are supposed to steel their troops, physically and mentally, against the enemy. Says Colonel Jimmie Keenan, commander of Fort Carson's hospital: "It'd be a fool to say that all the stigma is gone. The marked difference is what's being put in place to deal with this. A soldier has to be able to come forward."

When Sergeant Clint Hollibaugh was transferring from Iraq back to Oklahoma, he sat through the obligatory briefings on PTSD with one eye on the clock. "It was the usual stuff: 'Don't kick the cat, don't kill your wife,'" he says. Like many service members, he feared that any confession of mental trauma would delay his homecoming. However mixed up Hollibaugh felt after being the sole survivor of an ambush, he believed that it was nothing that could not be fixed by a burger, a few beers and sex. "Besides," he says, "I thought I was fine." But several weeks later, Hollibaugh woke up outside his house; he had been patrolling the yard while sleepwalking. He kept a gun in every room of his house, one of them under the mattress.

When his neighbor started firing off a shotgun, Hollibaugh instinctively leaped off the porch and began crawling through the grass while his wife, since divorced, looked on in horror and pity. "It took my family to say, 'Hey, you're messed up. Fix it.'" After drugs for sleep and with therapy, Hollibaugh began to feel better.

There are no hard-and-fast rules for treating PTSD, but studies show that stricken veterans who have a strong social network of family and friends tend to bounce back faster. For Waddell, the treatment has been a combination of techniques designed to calm the storm of his wartime memories and his emotional responses to them. It involves everything from drugs to cathartic sessions of therapy to mapping his brain waves. It also helps for Waddell to vocalize his traumatic experiences, so he and Marshéle often speak to church and community groups about PTSD. It can take years before the symptoms start to ebb.

And, says Marshéle, "you need an environment where the warrior can be vulnerable." Typically, that's not a military

base. Waddell speaks of what he terms a "break in the covenant" between those who volunteer to fight and the society that sent them into battle and then forgot about them. "It's not enough to give soldiers free tickets to NASCAR races," he says. "It has to be something more, a deeper way of honoring the sacrifices these men and women have made."

The "covenant" is slowly being restored in Colorado Springs. Members of the clergy keep an eye out for troubled military families in their congregations. Neighbors help with babysitting so that a couple can get reacquainted after a long tour of duty. Nonprofit groups have stepped in to give veterans and active-duty service members the kind of confidential help they feel they cannot get on base. On the assumption that a soldier is more likely to reveal buried traumas to someone who has also experienced combat, the Pikes Peak Behavioral Health Group has lined up vets who can steer the combat-bruised troops through their personal troubles and the VA's cavernous bureaucracy.

For Colonel George Brandt, behavioral health chief at the base hospital, a cure means "being able to get on the floor and play with your kids. Then you know you're home." For Waddell, it may take longer. He says, "Even though Marshéle and I are still in a dark valley, we haven't built our house here. We're just passing through."

**An Army Town Copes with PTSD**

For more photos of the effects of PTSD on Colorado Springs, go to time.com/colorado_springs

Can an Eagle Hug a Panda?

There's no great wall between the economies of China and the U.S. Why both nations need each other

HAVING SPENT A WEEK IN ASIA AND three intense days in China, President Barack Obama set a constructive tone for the future. He welcomed the emergence of China as a new force in the global economy and rebuffed suggestions that its rise should be seen as a sign of American decline. Chinese officials expressed concern about a weak dollar but committed to working with the U.S. to stabilize the global system. Hardly anything concrete was accomplished, but the trip cemented the centrality of the U.S.-China economic relationship and the fact that the two economies are, for now, intertwined.

Nonetheless, as Obama returns to pressing domestic issues and international flash points such as Iran and Afghanistan, two awkward numbers linger in the background: 3.5 and 8.9. The first is the rate of growth for the U.S. in the third quarter of 2009; the second is how fast China grew. And while GDP statistics are a flawed indicator, the contrast between the two economies remains stark.

China has been on an unconventional and unexpected journey that began after the tragedy of Tiananmen Square 20 years ago. The U.S., after half a century of global economic dominance, finds itself at a crossroads, unable to generate the growth that so many Americans expect and the services so many need, and still struggling to revitalize an economy that for so many years was the envy of the world. The U.S. has been accumulating debt and owes about \$800 billion to China alone; China has been building reserves and now has in excess of \$2.2 trillion. China remains a poorer country on a per capita basis but is rapidly becoming an economic super-

power. The U.S. is one of the most prosperous and stable countries in the world, but its system is showing signs of age.

Both Chinese and Americans view their economic interdependence warily. Yet in many respects the relationship has been mutually beneficial and may have been the primary reason the financial crisis did not result in a worldwide Great Depression. China was able to spend aggressively because for 20 years U.S. businesses had been investing in the Chinese economy, building factories, adding liquidity to Chinese banks, opening stores ranging from Avon boutiques to Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets, making cars, selling power turbines and semiconductors—all of which were essential to the rapid urbanization and modernization of China and the emergence of a vibrant middle class.

Scrap Metal and Bridal Gowns

YOU COULD THROW A DART AT A CHART of S&P 500 companies and come up with a China story. Intel is spending hundreds of millions of dollars to build a gleaming new factory in the northern Chinese city of Dalian. Nike signed up Chinese basketball wunderkind Yao Ming and then a gaggle of élite Chinese athletes to become the most popular sports brand in the country, growing 22% this year in China compared with barely 2% in the U.S. FedEx invested billions in logistics in China and the Pacific Rim, not just enabling foreign companies to function more smoothly but also exporting knowledge of modern shipping in the process. The cumulative result was a transfer of capital, yes, but more vitally of knowledge that has been the key to China's success.

But the benefits have flowed in both directions. Take Walmart. By some estimates, over the past several years, the retailer alone has accounted for 15% of U.S. imports from China, which would mean in excess of \$30 billion this year. As those goods enter the port of Long Beach, Calif., they require American workers to offload them, American trains and trucks to ship them and American workers to sell them.



In Beijing President Obama's trip to China stressed the U.S. and China's economic ties

Both Chinese and Americans view their interdependence warily. Yet it may have been why the financial crisis did not result in a worldwide Great Depression

None of those facts are visible in the trade statistics, yet they are real. And take a company like Schnitzer Steel of Oregon, a once regional company that collects and sells scrap metal. Had it not been for Chinese demand driving up the cost of scrap, Schnitzer would not have seen the soaring profits that allow it to employ more than 3,000 people. Or consider the Greek-American businessman I sat next



to on a long flight to Hong Kong who was able to turn his small wedding boutique into a regional chain with his own line in department stores because of the efficiencies that flowed from making his dresses in China. Those stores employed American workers and helped women of modest means realize their wedding dreams. You could fill a year's worth of magazines with similar examples.

And yet it's fair to say that the relationship between China and the U.S. is not something that most Chinese or Ameri-

cans like. Say China to many Americans, and they will speak of cheap and potentially dangerous products, unfair trade practices, human-rights violations and outsourcing. Mention the U.S. to many Chinese, and they will speak of arrogance, mismanagement of the economy and hypocrisy. One of the most popular books in China this year is *China Is Not Happy*, and the source of that unhappiness is an overly dependent relationship with the U.S. The two governments share some of those anxieties. Beijing worries that the con-

tinuing struggles of the U.S. economy will impair a \$338 billion market for its exports and imperil its dollar-denominated investments. China pegged its currency to the dollar years ago in order to hitch its wagon to the world's most dynamic economy but today worries that a declining dollar will impede China's growth. Many in Washington and on Wall Street believe that China's currency policy gives it unfair advantages in trade and that its reliance on state spending rather than domestic consumption is a core cause of the global economic crisis.

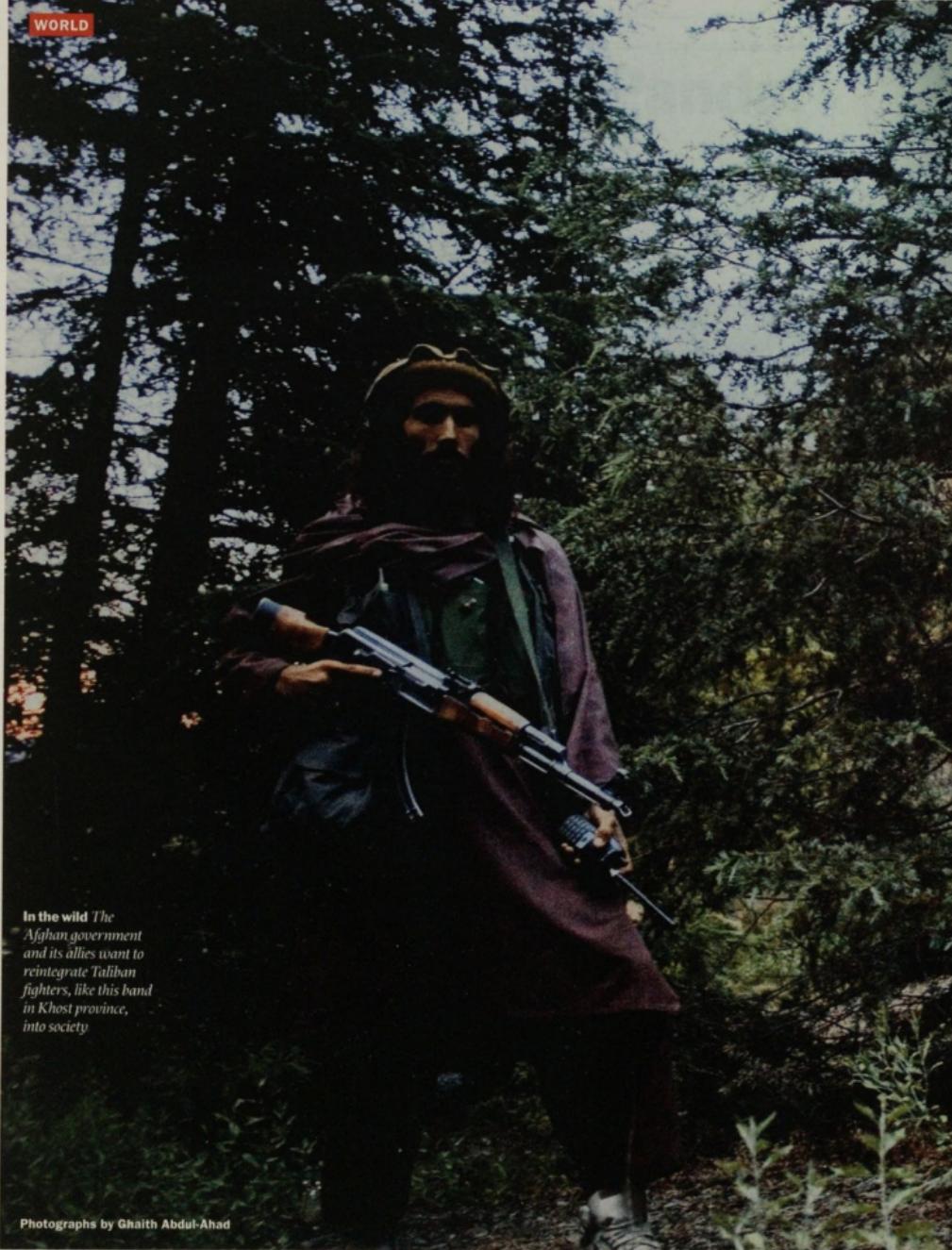
Chicken Parts and Tires

BUT THE SAME AMERICANS WHO SPEAK darkly of the China effect routinely seek out the least expensive cell phones, televisions and clothing and demand that companies whose stocks they invest in show double-digit profit growth. Procter & Gamble needs the supercharged gains of its Oil of Olay brand in China to remain compelling to investors. The Otis Elevator Co., a unit of United Technologies, makes great elevators, but it's China that's erecting thousands of skyscrapers. And the same Chinese who snap up copies of *China Is Not Happy* seek business deals with American companies, crave access to U.S. intellectual property and hunger for the brand-name goods produced by American multinationals.

Other than complain, there's little either can do to halt this integration. Punitive tariffs backfire. The Obama Administration's 35% tariff on imports of Chinese tires potentially hurt Goodyear's operations in Ohio because the company had developed a cost structure that uses production in China as a way to maintain its U.S. operations. China threatened to retaliate with tariffs on U.S. chicken parts. If tires and chicken parts are the worst of it, so much for trade wars.

The emergence of China will shape the world much as that of the U.S. did in the late 19th century. What remains to be seen is whether the rise of China will complement the U.S. or undermine it; whether the future will bring a new, cooperative and mutually beneficial economic order rather than a predictable replay of one great power giving way to the next. That future—burgeoning with possibilities and fraught with challenges—is ours to write. ■

Karabell is the author of Superfusion: How China and America Became One Economy and Why the World's Prosperity Depends on It



In the wild The Afghan government and its allies want to reintegrate Taliban fighters, like this band in Khost province, into society.

Talking with the Taliban. There are those who say it's the fastest way out of Afghanistan. But it's easier said than done

BY ARYN BAKER/KABUL





ABDUL JAMEEL WAS READY FOR peace. The commander of a small group of Taliban fighters in the province of Wardak, Afghanistan, Jameel was able to persuade his men to surrender to the government in exchange for amnesty and the chance to return to a life of farming or shopkeeping. But he never got that chance. Just weeks after he approached the government, Jameel and several members of his family were gunned down. It is unclear if the Taliban killed him or if old rivals were seeking revenge. Nevertheless, Jameel's story—which quickly spread around the province—provided a potent deterrent to other would-be reconcilers

and a lesson in the complexities of talking with the Taliban.

As Afghan President Hamid Karzai embarks on his second five-year term, he maintains that his primary agenda is to bring the war in Afghanistan to a peaceful close through negotiations with members of the Taliban insurgency. Karzai has gone so far as to invite his "Taliban brothers" to "embrace their land" and join him in talks. The U.S. too is growing weary of the war. As President Barack Obama finalizes his new strategy for Afghanistan and deliberates over how many more troops he should send to the front, he is facing pressure to define a clear exit strategy. What was once anathema—talking to an enemy that was

overthrown by U.S. forces in 2001 in retaliation for sheltering Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network—is now gaining acceptance, as the generals realize that military tactics alone will not win this war. For many U.S., European and U.N. diplomats as well as Afghan officials, talking with the Taliban seems to be the fastest, and perhaps only, way out of the quagmire.

Is it really? Or is a dialogue with the Taliban just another dead end?

For those who think that negotiations are worth trying and that so-called moderate Taliban can be coaxed to break ranks with their extremist leaders, there is a hopeful precedent. Starting in early 2007, tens of thousands of Iraqi insurgents



Forest hideout
Some Taliban
fighters relax in
a compound in
the district of
Chardarah, near
the northern city of
Kunduz

were persuaded to lay down their weapons in exchange for cash and jobs, usually as part of local militias fighting their former al-Qaeda allies. Building on that example, General Stanley McChrystal, the U.S. commander of international forces in Afghanistan, wrote in his recent assessment of the Afghan war that NATO "must identify opportunities to reintegrate former mid- to low-level insurgent fighters into normal society by offering them a way out." Lieutenant General Graeme Lamb, a former head of Britain's special forces who was asked by McChrystal to head the program, which was announced in September, says insurgents need to be offered security, vocational training, jobs and amnesty for past crimes. "This is not rocket science," says Lamb. "Insurgents have been reconciling and reintegrating back into society for centuries. This is about entering a dialogue where they can see opportunities, because the way you counter an insurgency is with a better life."

Both Afghan and Western officials have embraced the new terminology: they seek reintegration for low-level Taliban members who are assumed to be fighting for money or personal grievances, and reconciliation for Taliban leaders who are motivated by ideology. The plan, according to U.S. officials, will be undertaken in concert with the Afghan government. "We think that reintegration, if done right, if done by Afghan leaders and people, helps to create conditions for broader-scale reconciliation," says a U.S. diplomat.

The Taliban leadership, needless to say, has greeted all this with a snort of derision. "The mujahedin of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan are not mercenaries," said Mullah Bradar Akhund in a statement. "This war will come to an end when all invaders leave our country and an Islamic government based on the aspirations of our people is formed." Such a denunciation was to be expected. But even those who back the plan worry that Karzai's corruption-riddled government is so detested that money and jobs will not be enough, on their own, to woo fighters to switch sides. "Paying the low-level [Taliban] may work temporarily, but it won't solve the main problems," says Ishaq Nizami, the former head of the TV and Radio Directorate under the Taliban regime. "There is so much corruption and no laws. In many areas the Taliban have been able to bring security and justice,

Afghan and Western officials seek to reintegrate low-level Taliban members who are fighting mainly for money

which the government has not done. Even if some fighters turn, they will turn back again when they understand that their lives are not better." For reintegration to work, in other words, Afghanistan needs to have a government worth fighting for. So far it does not.

You Can't Help If You Aren't There

PERSUADING FIGHTERS TO THINK OF LAYING down their arms might be the easiest part of a new approach. They also need to believe they will be safe if they do so. Many Taliban foot soldiers joined the movement simply because they ended up on the wrong side of a local power equation. As with Jameel in Wardak province, affiliation with the Taliban offered them protection. So if they are going to disarm, they need to be confident that the side they are joining will stay and win—otherwise, desertion could be a death sentence.

Trouble is, that means making the sort of guarantee that the U.S. and its allies shy away from. When Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said recently that the U.S. is "not interested in staying [in Afghanistan]" and has "no long-term stake there," she probably—if inadvertently—caused fence sitters to reconsider their options. Indeed, Masoom Stanekzai, Karzai's point man on the reintegration policy, says that for it to work, a U.S. commitment of more troops is important. "The stronger presence of security forces in an area means that more Taliban commanders are under pressure," says Stanekzai. "They will ask themselves, 'Continue and be killed, or join the peace process?'"

So far, the new policy has focused on low-level Taliban fighters. But there have been moves to engage the insurgency's leaders too. In a sign of mounting frustration with Karzai's government, Obama recently requested an analysis of Afghanistan's provinces to determine which of them had leaders with whom the U.S. could work directly. The request

Several warlords now serve in Karzai's Cabinet. If they can be brought into the tent, why can't the Taliban leadership?

apparently did not exclude Taliban commanders, a move that has met with approval among Afghans. "There are many capable people in the Taliban ... [who] can be an asset [to the government] if they agree to lay down their arms," says Haleem Fidayee, governor of Wardak province. To many, the Taliban are no worse than the warlords who preceded them in power. Several such warlords are now serving in Karzai's Cabinet. If they can be brought into the tent, the reasoning goes, why can't the Taliban leadership? "If you want to get important results, you have to talk to important people," says Talatbek Masadykov, director of political affairs at the U.N.

But do those important people want a conversation? In recent months, Mullah Omar, the one-eyed veteran Taliban leader, seems to have distanced himself from al-Qaeda. In a September statement, Omar assured foreign nations that Afghanistan would never again be used as a launching ground for international terrorism, as it was before 9/11. "We assure all countries," he said, "that the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, as a responsible force, will not extend its hand to cause jeopardy to others." Thomas Ruttig, co-director of the Afghanistan Analysts Network and author of a recent book on the war, is convinced that the Taliban is trying to send a message. "They are presenting themselves as a parallel government. Even before 9/11 they wanted to play ball. We didn't take them seriously then, but we should start doing that now."

Others might dispute that analysis. In 2001, the Taliban leadership was fractured between moderates, who sought international engagement, and conservatives, influenced by al-Qaeda, who preferred continued isolation. But assuming that at least some Taliban leaders want to reach out to the West, what would a conversation with them be about? "Everyone says we have to talk to the Taliban," says Hekmat Karzai, director of the Kabul-based Center for Conflict and Peace

Studies. "But when you do, what the hell are you going to say?" It's a good question. The first thing the Taliban would want is a cease-fire, says Antonio Giustozzi, author of *Decoding the New Taliban*. "They crave the kind of legitimacy that such a cease-fire would bring. They want to be counted as a legitimate force with legitimate grievances." But a cease-fire would mean that Taliban senior leaders would be removed from the U.N. sanctions list as well as the Pentagon's Joint Integrated Prioritized Target List, which catalogs authorized targets for U.S. forces. Doing so shouldn't be that difficult. It could even be used as a bargaining tool to lure some of the Taliban to the table.

The al-Qaeda Connection

OTHER KEY TALIBAN DEMANDS WILL BE less easy to meet. In any negotiations, for example, the Taliban would want to see a timeline for the withdrawal of international forces. The problem there, Hekmat Karzai says, is that "Afghans know that if the international soldiers leave we won't have a solid security institution, so foreign withdrawal has to be concomitant with increased Afghan security forces." But training of the Afghan army and police force is going more slowly than planned, and U.S. and European instructors are in short supply. It will be several years before Afghan troops can defend the country on their own. Before it withdraws its forces, the U.S. will want to be sure that all al-Qaeda bases have been destroyed and that the group will not be able to use Afghanistan as a launching pad for further terrorist attacks. In theory, that is doable. Intelligence officials estimate that there are fewer than 100 al-Qaeda operatives in Afghanistan, but for the Taliban to completely renounce their al-Qaeda sponsors, says Giustozzi, they will have to be provided with alternative sources of income.

Even if Saudi Arabia or others stepped into the financial breach, not all Afghans are convinced that the Taliban leadership can be easily peeled away from al-Qaeda. A senior Afghan security official points to a recent attack on the U.N. compound in Kabul that was planned and financed by al-Qaeda but executed by the Taliban. The war has brought their causes closer together, he says. "Now the real Taliban is no different from the real al-Qaeda. They are not a bunch of hungry guys fighting



Guard duty A Taliban fighter with the Haqqani network watches for intruders. What would it take to coax him away from extremism?



because al-Qaeda is paying them. They will never accept our vision of a stable, democratic Afghanistan."

That rejection extends to Western demands for Afghan women to have basic rights. Listen to Abdul Wahid, 26, a Taliban member jailed for his involvement in a car-bomb blast that claimed several lives. Wahid says compromise on the establishment of Islamic law is out of the question—and to him, that means women would not be able to work. "They could leave the house, but only if they were dressed appropriately. They could go to school, but they would never be able to work in offices—only in women's hospitals or as teachers at girls' schools." If the

Obama Administration were willing to negotiate with the Taliban in the hope of a quick exit, such issues would not just create outrage at home; they would disillusion those Afghans who still believe in Western promises of human rights and democracy. "Afghans don't really want reconciliation," says the Afghan security official. "They are not prepared to have the Taliban return. They are desperate to come to an end of the fighting—that is all."

So too is the U.S. And that is why Hekmat Karzai sees the enthusiasm for talks less as a considered proposal for a long-term Afghan solution and more as a way for the U.S. and its allies to get out as soon as they can. "If we are going to initiate

dialogue, it should not be so the West can immediately leave Afghanistan, saying, 'Look, now they have come together. They have developed a solution. Afghans are happy with, so we can back off.' If you did that, this country would collapse back into chaos. We have to do this because we want to make sure there is a lasting peace."

Talking to the Taliban, on that view, will work only if it is accompanied by an extensive nation-building program, leading to a clean government that protects its people and gives them real opportunity. Pity that is precisely the long-term commitment to Afghanistan the U.S. is trying to avoid.—WITH REPORTING BY SHAH BARAKZAI/KABUL



SOCIETY

Can These Parents Be Saved?

Overparenting got way out of control in the past generation. But now a band of rebels is trying to restore some balance and sanity to family life and help bring all those anxious helicopter parents down for a soft landing

BY NANCY GIBBS

THE INSANITY CREEPT UP ON US slowly; we just wanted what was best for our kids. We bought macrobiotic cupcakes and hypoallergenic socks, hired tutors to correct a 5-year-old's "pencil-holding deficiency," hooked up broadband connections in the treehouse but took down the swing set after the second skinned knee. We hovered over every school, playground and practice field—"helicopter parents," teachers christened us, a phenomenon that spread to parents of all ages, races and regions. Stores began marketing stove-knob covers and "Kinderkords" (also known as leashes; they allow "three full feet of freedom for both you and your child") and Baby Kneepads (as if babies don't come pre-padded). The mayor of a Connecticut town agreed to chop down three hickory trees on one block after a woman worried that a stray nut might drop into her new swimming pool, where her nut-allergic grandson occasionally swam. A Texas school required parents wanting to help with the second-grade holiday party to have a background check first. Schools auctioned off the right to cut the carpool line and drop a child directly in front of the building—a spot that in other settings is known as handicapped parking.

We were so obsessed with our kids' success that parenting turned into a form of product development. Parents demanded that nursery schools offer Mandarin, since it's never too soon to prepare for the competition of a global economy. High school teachers received irate text messages from parents protesting an exam grade before class was even over; college deans described freshmen as "crispies," who arrived at college already burned out, and "teacups," who seemed ready to break at the tiniest stress.

This is what parenting had come to look like at the dawn of the 21st century—just one more extravagance, the Bubble Wrap waiting to burst.

All great rebellions are born of private acts of civil disobedience that inspire rebel bands to plot together. And so there is now a new revolution under way, one aimed at rolling back the almost comical overprotectiveness and overinvestment of moms and dads. The insurgency goes by many names—slow parenting, simplicity parenting, free-range parenting—but the message is the same: Less is more; hovering is dangerous; failure is fruitful. You really want your children to succeed? Learn when to leave them alone. When you lighten up,

they'll fly higher. We're often the ones who hold them down.

A backlash against overparenting had been building for years, but now it reflects a new reality. Since the onset of the Great Recession, according to a CBS News poll, a third of parents have cut their kids' extracurricular activities. They downsized, downshifted and simplified because they had to—and often found, much to their surprise, that they liked it. When a Time poll last spring asked how the recession had affected people's relationships with their kids, nearly four times as many people said relationships had gotten better as said they'd gotten worse. "This is one of those moments when everything is on the table, up for grabs," says Carl Honore, whose book *Under Pressure: Rescuing Our Children from the Culture of Hyper-Parenting* is a gospel of the slow-parenting movement. He likens the sudden awareness to the feeling you get when you wake up after a long night carousing, the lights go on, and you realize you're a mess. "That horrible moment of self-recognition is where we are culturally. I wanted parents to realize they are not alone in thinking this is insanity, and show there's another way."

How We Got Here

OVERPARENTING HAD BEEN AROUND LONG before Douglas MacArthur's mom Pinky moved with him to West Point in 1899 and took an apartment near the campus, supposedly so she could watch him with a telescope to be sure he was studying. But in the 1990s something dramatic happened, and the needle went way past the red line. From peace and prosperity, there

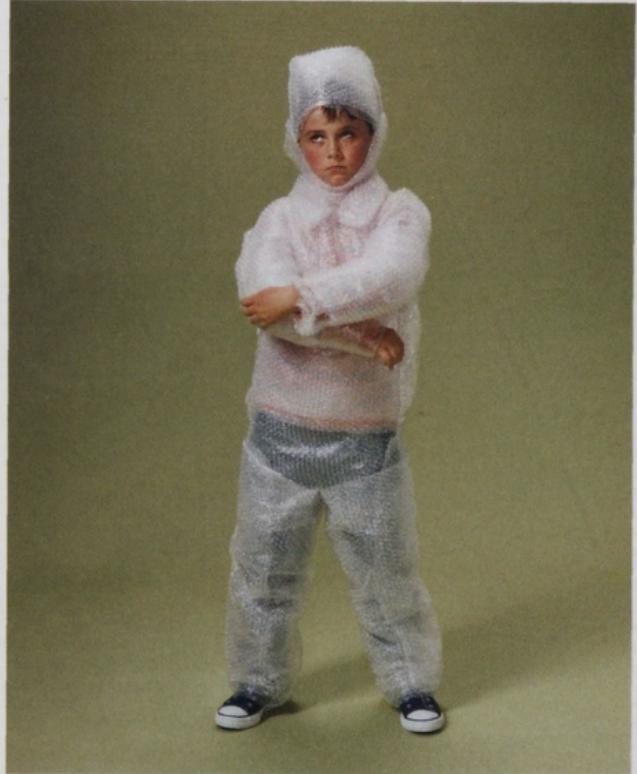
arose fear and anxiety; crime went down, yet parents stopped letting kids out of their sight; the percentage of kids walking or biking to school dropped from 41% in 1969 to 13% in 2001. Death by injury has dropped more than 50% since 1980, yet parents lobbied to take the jungle gyms out of playgrounds, and strollers suddenly needed the warning label REMOVE CHILD BEFORE FOLDING. Among 6-to-8-year-olds, free playtime dropped 25% from 1981 to '97, and homework more than doubled. Bookstores offered *Brain Foods for Kids: Over 100 Recipes to Boost Your Child's Intelligence*. The state of Georgia sent every newborn home with the CD *Build Your Baby's Brain Through the Power of Music*, after researchers claimed to have discovered that listening to Mozart could temporarily help raise IQ scores by as many as 9 points. By the time the frenzy had reached its peak, colleges were installing "Hi, Mom!" webcams in common areas, and employers like Ernst & Young were creating "parent packs" for recruits to give Mom and Dad, since they were involved in negotiating salary and benefits.

Once obsessing about kids' safety and success became the norm, a kind of orthodoxy took hold, and heaven help the heretics—the ones who were brave enough to let their kids venture outside without Secret Service protection. Just ask Lenore Skenazy, who to this day, when you Google "America's Worst Mom," fills the first few pages of results—all because one day last year she let her 9-year-old son ride the New York City subway alone. A newspaper column she wrote about it somehow ignited a global firestorm over what constitutes reasonable risk. She had reporters calling from China, Israel, Australia, Malta. ("Malta! An island!" she marvels. "Who's stalking the kids there? Pirates?") Skenazy decided to fight back, arguing that we have lost our ability to assess risk. By worrying about the wrong things, we do actual damage to our children, raising them to be anxious and unadventurous or, as she puts it, "hot-house, mama-tied, danger-hallucinating joy extinguishers."

Skenazy, a Yale-educated mom who with her husband is raising two boys in New York City, had ingested all the same messages as the rest of us. Her sons' school once held a pre-field trip assembly explaining exactly how close to a hospital the children would be at all times. She confesses to being "at least part Sikorsky," hiring a football coach for a son's birthday and

50%

Drop in the death-by-injury rate since 1980—yet parents lobbied to take jungle gyms out of playgrounds, and strollers suddenly needed the warning label 'Remove Child Before Folding.'



handing out mouth guards as party favors. But when the *Today* show had her on the air to discuss her subway decision, interviewer Ann Curry turned to the camera and asked, "Is she an enlightened mom or a really bad one?"

From that day and the food fight that followed, she launched her Free Range Kids blog, which eventually turned into her own Dangerous Book for Parents: *Free-Range Kids: Giving Our Children the Freedom We Had Without Going Nuts with Worry*. There is no rational reason, she argues, that a generation of parents who grew up walking alone to school, riding mass transit, trick-or-treating, teeter-tottering and selling Girl Scout cookies door to door should be forbidding their kids to do the same. But somehow, she says, "it's the new 2. We're infantilizing our kids into incompetence." She celebrates seat belts and car seats and bike helmets and all the rational advances in child safety. It's the irrational responses that make her crazy, like when Dear Abby endorses the idea,

as she did in August, that each morning before their kids leave the house, parents take a picture of them. That way, if they are kidnapped, the police will have a fresh photo showing what clothes they were wearing. Once the kids make it home safe and sound, you can delete the picture and take a new one the next morning.

That advice may seem perfectly sensible to parents bombarded by heartbreakingly news stories about missing little girls and the predator next door. But too many parents, says Skenazy, have the math all wrong. Refusing to vaccinate your children, as millions now threaten to do in the case of the swine flu, is statistically reckless; on the other hand, there are no reports of a child ever being poisoned by a stranger handing out tainted Halloween candy, and the odds of being kidnapped and killed by a stranger are about 1 in 1.5 million. When parents confront you with "How can you let him go to the store alone?", she suggests countering with "How can you let him visit your relatives?"

(Some 80% of kids who are molested are victims of friends or relatives.) Or ride in the car with you? (More than 430,000 kids were injured in motor vehicles last year.) "I'm not saying that there is no danger in the world or that we shouldn't be prepared," she says. "But there is good and bad luck and fate and things beyond our ability to change. The way kids learn to be resourceful is by having to use their resources." Besides, she says with a smile, "a 100%-safe world is not only impossible. It's nowhere you'd want to be."

Dispatches from the Front Lines

ELEVEN PARENTS ARE SITTING IN A CIRCLE in an airy, glass-walled living room in south Austin, Texas, eating organic, gluten-free, nondairy coconut ice cream. This is a Slow Family Living class, taught by perinatal psychologist Carrie Conte and Bernadette Noll. "Our whole culture," says Conte, 38, "is geared around 'Is your kid making the benchmarks?' There's this fear of 'Is my kid's head the right size?' People think there's some mythical Good Mother out there that they aren't living up to and that it's hurting their child. I just want to pull the plug on that."

The parents seem relieved to hear it. Matt, a textbook editor, reports that he and his wife quit a book club because it caused too much stress on book-club nights, and stopped fussing about how the house looks, which brings nods all around the room: let go of perfectionism in all its tyranny. Margaret, a publishing executive, tells her own near-miss story of how she stepped back from the brink of insanity. On her son's fourth birthday, she says, "I'm like 'Oh, my God, he's eligible for Suzuki!' I literally got on the phone and called 12 Suzuki teachers," she says, before realizing the nightmare she was creating for herself and her child. Shutting down your inner helicopter isn't easy. "This is not a shift in perspective that occurs overnight," Matt admits after class. "And it's not every day that I consciously sit down and ask myself hard questions about how I want family life to be slower or better."

Fear is a kind of parenting fungus: invisible, insidious, perfectly designed to decompose your peace of mind. Fear of physical danger is at least subject to rational argument; fear of failure is harder to hose down. What could be more natural than worrying that your child might be trampled by the great, scary, globally competitive world into which she will one day

be launched? It is this fear that inspires parents to demand homework in preschool, produce the snazzy bilingual campaign video for the third-grader's race for class rep, continue to provide the morning wake-up call long after he's headed off to college.

Some of the hovering is driven by memory and demography. This generation of parents, born after 1964, waited longer to marry and had fewer children. Families are among the smallest in history, which means our genetic eggs are in fewer baskets and we guard them all the more zealously. Helicopter parents can be found across all income levels, all races and ethnicities, says Patricia Somers of the University of Texas at Austin, who spent more than a year studying the species at the college level. "There are even helicopter grandparents," she notes, who turn up with their elementary-school grandchildren for college-information sessions aimed at juniors and seniors.

Nor is this phenomenon limited to ZIP codes where every Volvo wagon just has to have a University of Chicago sticker on it. "I'm having exactly the same conversations with coaches, teachers, parents, counselors, whether I'm in Wichita or northern Canada or South America," says Honoré. His own revelation came while listening to the feedback about his son in kindergarten. It was fine, but nothing stellar—until he got to the art room and the teacher began raving about how creative his son was, pointing out his sketches that she'd displayed as models for other students. Then, Honoré recalls, "she dropped the G-bomb: 'He's a gifted artist,' she told us, and it was one of those moments when you don't hear anything else. I just saw the word *gifted* in neon with my son's name ..." So he hurried home and Googled the names of art tutors and eagerly told his son all about the special person who would help him draw even better. "He looks at me like I'm from outer space," Honoré says. "I just wanna draw," he tells me. "Why do grownups have to take over everything?"

"That was a searing epiphany," Honoré concludes. "I didn't like what I saw." He now writes and lectures about the many fruits of slowing down, citing research that suggests the brain in its relaxed state is more creative, makes more nuanced connections and is ripe for eureka moments. "With children," he argues, "they need that space not to be entertained or distracted. What boredom does is take away the noise ... and leave them with space to think



deeply, invent their own game, create their own distraction. It's a useful trampoline for children to learn how to get by."

Other studies reinforce the importance of play as an essential protein in a child's emotional diet; were it not, argue some scientists, it would not have persisted across species and millenniums, perhaps as a way to practice for adulthood, to build leadership, sociability, flexibility, resilience—even as a means of literally shaping the brain and its pathways. Dr. Stuart Brown, a psychiatrist and the founder of the National Institute for Play—who has a treehouse above his office—recalls in a recent book how managers at Caltech's Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) noticed the younger engineers lacked problem-solving skills, though they had top grades and test scores. Realizing the older engineers had more play experience as kids—they'd taken apart clocks, built stereos, made models—JPL eventually incorporated questions about job applicants' play backgrounds into interviews. "If you look at what pro-

duces learning and memory and well-being" in life, Brown has argued, "play is as fundamental as any other aspect." The American Academy of Pediatrics warns that the decrease in free playtime could carry health risks: "For some children, this hurried lifestyle is a source of stress and anxiety and may even contribute to depression." Not to mention the epidemic of childhood obesity in a generation of kids who never just go out and play.

Remember, Mistakes Are Good

MANY EDUCATORS HAVE BEEN SEARCHING for ways to tell parents when to back off. It's a tricky line to walk, since studies link parents' engagement in a child's education to better grades, higher test scores, less substance abuse and better college outcomes. Given a choice, teachers say, overinvolved parents are preferable to inattentive ones. The challenge is helping parents know when they are crossing a line.

Every teacher can tell the story of a student who needed to fail in order to be

reassured that the world wouldn't come to an end. Yet teachers now face a climate in which parents ghostwrite students' homework, airbrush their lab reports—then lobby like a K Street hired gun for their child to be assigned to certain classes. Principal Karen Faucher instituted a "no rescue" policy at Belinder Elementary in Prairie Village, Kans., when she noticed the front-office table covered each day with forgotten lunch boxes and notebooks, all brought in by parents. The tipping point was the day a mom rushed in with a necklace meant to complete her daughter's coordinated outfit. "I'm lucky—I deal with intelligent parents here," Faucher says. "But you saw very intelligent parents doing very stupid things. It was almost like a virus. The parents knew that was not what they intended to do, but they couldn't help themselves." A guidance counselor at a Washington prep school urges parents to find a mentor of a certain disposition. "Make friends with parents," she advises, "who don't think their kids are perfect." Or with parents who are willing to exert some peer pressure of their own: when schools debate whether to drop recess to free up more test-prep time, parents need to let a school know if they think that's a trade-off worth making.

A certain amount of hovering is understandable when it comes to young children, but many educators are concerned when it persists through middle school and high school. Some teachers talk of "Stealth Fighter Parents," who no longer hover constantly but can be counted on for a surgical strike just when the high school musical is being cast or the starting lineup chosen. And senior year is the witching hour: "I think for a lot of parents, college admissions is like their grade report on how they did as a parent," observes Madeleine Rhyneer, dean of students at Willamette University in Oregon. Many colleges have had to invent a "director of parent programs" to run regional groups so moms and dads can meet fellow college parents or attend special classes where they can learn all the school cheers. The Ithaca College website offers a checklist of advice: "Visit (but not too often)"; "Communicate (but not too often)"; "Don't worry (too much)"; "Expect change"; "Trust them."

Teresa Meyer, a former PTA president at Hickman High in Columbia, Mo., has just sent the youngest of her three daughters to college. "They made it very clear: You are not invited to the registration part where they're requesting classes. That's their job." She's come to appreciate the please-back-

off vibe she's encountered. "I hope that we're getting away from the helicopter parenting," Meyer says. "Our philosophy is 'Give 'em the morals, give 'em the right start, but you've got to let them go.' They deserve to live their own lives."

What You Can Do

AMONG THE MOST POWERFUL WEAPONS in the war against the helicopter brigade is the explosion of websites where parents can confide, confess and affirm their sense that lowering expectations is not the same as letting your children down. So you gave up trying to keep your 2-year-old from eating the dog's food? You banged your son's head on the doorway while giving him a piggyback ride? Your daughter hates school and is so scared of failure she won't even try to ride a bike? "I just want to throw in the towel and give up on her," one mom posts on Truuconfessions.com. "This is NOT what I thought I was signing up for." Honestbaby.com sells baby T-shirts that say I'LL WALK WHEN I'M GOOD AND READY. Given how many books and websites drove a generation of parents mad with anxiety, a certain balance is restored to the universe when it becomes conventional for people to brag about what bad parents they are.

The revolutionary leaders are careful about offering too much advice. Parents have gotten plenty of that, and one of the goals of this new movement is to give parents permission to disagree or at least follow different roads. "People feel there's somehow a secret formula for parenting, and if we just read enough books and spend enough money and drive ourselves hard enough, we'll find it, and all will be O.K.," Honoré observes. "Can you think of anything more sinister, since every child is so different, every family is different? Parents

need to block out the sound and fury from the media and other parents, find that formula that fits your family best."

Kim John Payne, author of *Simplicity Parenting*, teaches seminars on how to peel back the layers of cultural pressure that weigh down families. He and his coaches will even go into your home, weed out your kids' stuff, sort out their schedule, turn off the screens and help your family find space you didn't know you had, like a master closet reorganizer for the soul. But any parent can do it just as well. "We need to quit bombarding them with choices way before their ability to handle them," Payne says. The average child has 150 toys. "When you cut the toys and clothes back ... the kids really like it." He aims for a cut of roughly 75%: he tosses out the broken toys and gives away the outgrown ones and the busy, noisy, blinking ones that do the playing for you. Pare down to the classics that leave the most to the child's imagination and create a kind of toy library kids can visit and swap from. Then build breaks of calm into their schedule so they can actually enjoy the toys.

Finally, there is the gift of humility, which parents need to offer one another. We can fuss and fret and shuttle and shelter, but in the end, what we do may not matter as much as we think. *Freakonomics* authors Stephen Dubner and Steven Levitt analyzed a Department of Education study tracking the progress of kids through fifth grade and found that things like how much parents read to their kids, how much TV kids watch and whether Mom works make little difference. "Frequent museum visits would seem to be no more productive than trips to the grocery store," they argued in *USA Today*. "By the time most parents pick up a book on parenting technique, it's too late. Many of the things that matter most were decided long ago—what kind of education a parent got, what kind of spouse he wound up with and how long they waited to have children."

If you embrace this rather humbling reality, it will be easier to follow the advice D.H. Lawrence offered back in 1918: "How to begin to educate a child. First rule: leave him alone. Second rule: leave him alone. Third rule: leave him alone. That is the whole beginning."

Of course, that was easy for him to say. He had no kids. —WITH REPORTING BY KAREN BALL/KANSAS CITY, MO.; ALEXANDRA SILVER/NEW YORK CITY AND ELIZABETH DIAS AND SOPHIA YAN/WASHINGTON

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Zynga Harvests The Cyberfarmer

The meteoric and controversial rise of the company whose games you play on Facebook

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

CHERYL BLITMAN GOT A HORRIBLE SHOCK WHEN SHE OPENED her cell-phone bill. It was \$170 higher than usual. Her phone company told her that her daughter had subscribed to 17 premium texting services. But Michelle, 15, was adamant; she had not. Eventually they figured out the source of the charges: *FarmVille*.

FarmVille is the most popular game on Facebook—65 million unique monthly players and growing. It is also the furthest place imaginable from the seedy underbelly of the Internet. It's a hamlet where the sun always shines, crops always grow and your friends drop by to do chores accompanied by plinky guitar music. Its astonishing popularity is a testament to the potential of gaming on social networks. Social games promise the golden pork-chop combo of the addictiveness of computer games with the communal

of Facebook and MySpace. And they generate some of their revenue from product come-ons, which is where Michelle—and *FarmVille*'s owners—has run into trouble.

FarmVille is part of Zynga, the fastest-growing, most buzzed-about social-game company of the moment. In October, Zynga operated six of the 10 most popular Facebook games: *FarmVille*, *Cafe World*, *Mafia Wars*, *YoVille*, *zyngapoker* and *Roller*

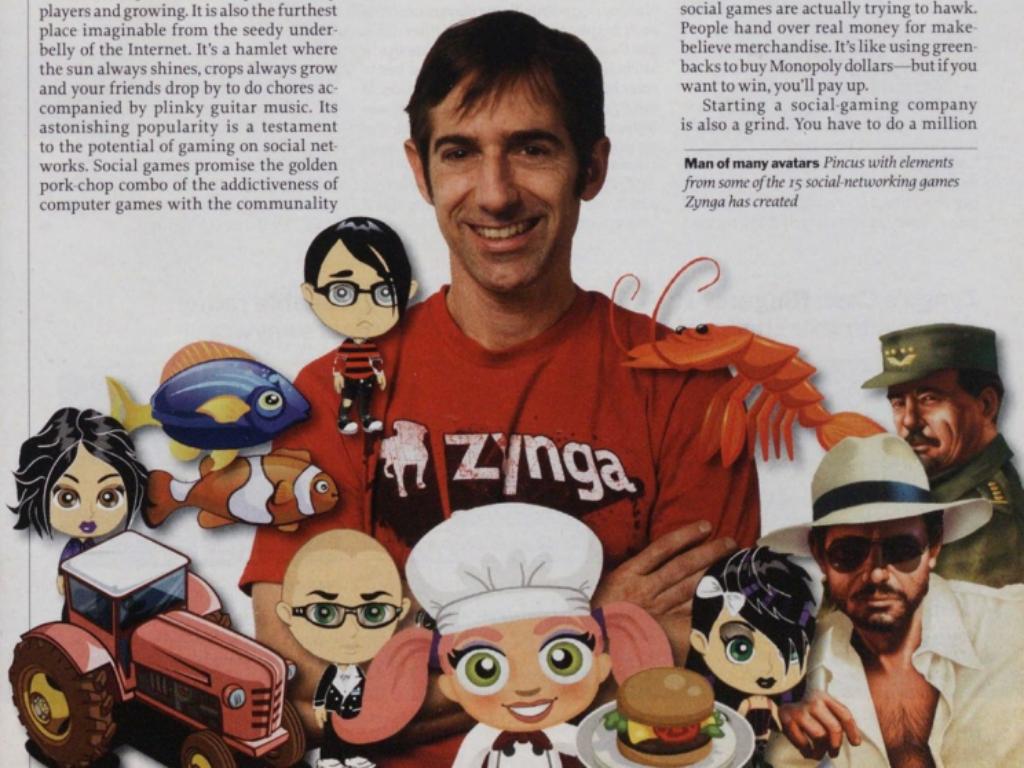
Coaster Kingdom. Founded in July 2007 by Mark Pincus, 43, Zynga had 45 staffers by June 2008 and now employs 600, counting contractors. Its most recently launched game, *FishVille*, hooked 9 million users in a week. Zynga is privately held, but a rival less than half its size was recently bought by Electronic Arts, the GM of games, for \$400 million. How could an outfit that offers scammy mobile-phone horoscope subscriptions get so popular?

To figure that out, we have a useful analogy close at hand: *FarmVille*. There are two ways to move ahead in the game. One is to grind, as it's known—plow, plant and harvest. Once you've grown, say, eggplant, you accumulate enough points to move up to a wider choice of crops. You invite friends to be your neighbors. You exchange gifts and help out, all of which let you accrue the capital you need to expand your farm, thus making it ever more remunerative.

But if you want to skip all that back-breaking plowing, er, clicking, or if you've run out of friends who faux farm, you can buy farm cash and get what you want. These virtual goods are the products that social games are actually trying to hawk. People hand over real money for make-believe merchandise. It's like using greenbacks to buy Monopoly dollars—but if you want to win, you'll pay up.

Starting a social-gaming company is also a grind. You have to do a million

Man of many avatars Pincus with elements from some of the 15 social-networking games Zynga has created



little things to get ahead. Industry watchers credit Zynga with figuring out hooks for its games that make people want to revisit—a combination of shrewdly timed rewards, incentives and opportunities to play with friends.

Pincus calls these the "golden mechanics." He learned them by trial and error, mainly while working on his two failed start-ups, Tribe.net and Supportsoft. He also has a behavioral psychologist on staff. Unlike traditional electronic games, which can't be changed much after they're shipped, Zynga's games constantly evolve in response to users' preferences, so they're more habit-forming. "They're making movies," he says of console-based game creators. "What we're doing is more like weekly TV programming."

Zynga's tactic of gaming Facebook's architecture was critical to its takeoff. It flooded Facebook with ads. It exploited the social network's distribution engine to pep up players' friends with updates and invitations. To release games quickly, it used a roll-up strategy, buying *YoVille*, licensing *Texas HoldEm* (which it renamed *zyngapoker*) and imitating rivals. Playfish's *Restaurant City* was around before *Cafe World*, and *FishVille* is reminiscent of Crowdstar's *Happy Aquarium*. Even *FarmVille* rips off *Happy Farm*, a hugely popular online game in China (richly ironic, given China's disregard for intellectual property). Once it had collected a vast user base, Zynga could lure customers to new games.

To do all this, the company needed money and had to prove to investors that offering free games on Facebook was a sound proposition. Zynga attracted \$39 million



These virtual goods are the products that social games are actually trying to hawk. People hand over real money for make-believe merchandise

in start-up money and got a second wave of \$15 million this month. Ads and virtual goods bring in most of the revenue. But because people who play free games on the Internet like the free part, Zynga needed a third income stream—product come-ons.

These offers are like ads, except that when you click on them, you're agreeing to try and then buy a company's service in exchange for game points. Sign up for a Netflix subscription, get two months free plus 100,000 points. Some players cancel as soon as they have the points. Other deals, like those that snagged Michelle, are shady. Michelle took a quiz that required her to enter her cell-phone number and a code. At some point during the exchange, there was supposed to be a notification that she was signing up for an SMS subscription at \$9.99 a month. Michelle says she never saw it.

Zynga did not create the sketchy offers, which are outsourced, but neither did it have a handle on them. "We have always

policed offers for content," says Pincus. "But there's thousands of offers and hundreds of new ones every week." Facebook and MySpace tightened their guidelines after getting complaints. Then a tech blogger confronted the CEO of a company that creates offers. She answered his accusations unwisely ("S___, double s___ and bulls___"), and it blew up online. Also on the Internet: footage of Pincus speaking at a University of California, Berkeley, event about how he funded his start-up. "I did every horrible thing in the book to just get revenues right away," he said. It's bravado that now makes Pincus wince: "I was selling myself short."

For the moment, Zynga has removed all offers and says it's going to vet each one before it appears. Whether this is just a speed bump for a company that's growing dizzyingly fast or a huge infrastructural problem is unclear. Reports peg Zynga's revenue at \$100 million a year, which the company says is low. If you assume similar economies for Zynga as for Playfish, says Atul Batta, an analyst with Think Equity, "Zynga could be four times bigger on a run-rate basis."

Social games have drawn people who would never touch a console game or *World of Warcraft*—stay-at-home mothers, office workers looking for a five-minute break, families. This is partly because they feel safer playing with their friends and partly because there aren't quite enough other things to do on social networks. But if they start to feel unsafe, the whole house of cards will come crashing down. Michelle is already lost. "I told her never to go to *FarmVille* again," says her mom. "It's a scam." Or the next killer app. ■

Zynga's Cash Ringers. The company's games are agreeable rather than exciting or challenging but have snared many users anyway



FISHVILLE

10 million players in 10 days

How to play: Players create an aquarium for breeding, feeding and selling fish and trading with friends



FARMVILLE

65 million players per month

How to play: Budding agriculturalists get a plot of land and work their way up the farming ladder by mastering different crops and schmoozing



MAFIA WARS

25.6 million players per month

How to play: As a mafia don, you build your "business" by doing "favors" for your "family"

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'Several times I said I had better "start cooking" when I meant "start microwaving."'

FOOD, PAGE 65

Life

□ HEALTH CARE □ FOOD □ RELIGION □ CASH CRUNCH □ POWER OF ONE



HEALTH CARE

Fat Fees And Smoker Surcharges.

More states adopt tough-love wellness initiatives

BY MELBA NEWSOME

PSYCHOLOGY PROFESSOR Anita Blanchard has a pretty sweet deal with her employer. Even if the 40-something mother of three leaves her job at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, the state of North Carolina guarantees her premium-free health insurance that will cover 80% of her health care costs for life. But there's a hitch: she can't gain too much weight or start smoking. If she does, she could be on the hook for an additional 10% of her health care tab.

Companies have long promoted healthier behavior by subsidizing gym memberships and smoking cessation classes. But several private and public employers have started tying financial incentives to their health-insurance plans. North Carolina this year became the second state to approve an increase in out-of-pocket expenses for state workers who smoke and don't

try to quit or who are morbidly obese and don't try to lose weight. Alabama was the first to pass what critics call a fat fee, in 2008, and several state insurance plans have started imposing a \$25 monthly surcharge on smokers.

There's even a push in Congress to let employers further link lifestyles to insurance premiums. Right now companies that run their own insurance programs can reward employees with bonuses or premium reductions of up to 20% if they meet certain health guidelines. John Ensign, Republican Senator from Nevada, and Tom Carper, Democratic Senator from Delaware, co-sponsored an amendment to the current health care bill that would raise the limit to as high as 50%. The Senate Finance Committee gave it a thumbs-up in September.

Nationwide, employee insurance premiums have increased 131% over the past decade, according to the Kaiser Family Foundation. And it's well documented that smoking and obesity are associated with higher medical costs. That helps explain why 34% of respondents in a new Aon survey of more than 1,300 employers said they plan to introduce or increase financial incentives to encourage participation in wellness programs and why 17% plan to do the same for disease-management programs.

But there's a big difference between handing out gift cards and jacking up people's co-pays. The Tar Heel State in particular has been criticized for using a big-stick approach. Starting in July, state workers who smoke will be moved from the plan that covers 80% of health care costs to one that pays 70%, an out-of-pocket difference of approximately \$480 a year, unless they agree to enroll in a smoking-cessation program.

In 2011, the state will turn its attention to the obese. Workers who have a body mass index (BMI) below 40—e.g., someone who is 5 ft. 6 in. and weighs 250 lb.—can re-

Wellness, Meet Wallets. Some plans use carrots, others sticks

Alabama has tracked how benefit claims increase for state workers above normal weight. Nearly half its state employees are obese



Body mass index (BMI) uses height and weight to screen for obesity. A 5-ft. 6-in., 217-lb. person has a BMI of 35

Alabama

Next year, state workers with a BMI above 34 can get \$25 off their \$70 monthly premium by starting a weight-loss regimen

North Carolina

State employees with a BMI above 39 face a 10% hike in out-of-pocket costs in 2011 unless they become proactive about weight

Congress

A Senate bill would let employers give wellness-initiative participants bonuses or reduce premiums up to 50% a year

main in the 80% plan for the first year. But after that, they need to either have a BMI of 35 (5 ft. 6 in., 217 lb.) or enroll in a weight-loss program to qualify for the less expensive plan.

Alabama, rather than adopting penalties, is offering discounts on state workers' \$70 monthly premiums. To get \$30 off for not using tobacco, participants have to sign a form under penalty of perjury. (An audit of relevant medical records could result in back-billing and a recall of claims.) Since the plan started giving such a discount in

2005, it has seen a 4% decline in the number of smokers.

After Dec. 31, state employees in Alabama will be eligible for an additional \$25 discount on their monthly premiums if screenings indicate that their blood pressure, blood glucose, cholesterol and weight are in the normal range or if they see a doctor to address any risk factors. People with a BMI of 35 or higher have to enroll in a weight-loss program to receive the discount.

"We're trying to get across to the population that they have to take responsibility for

their well-being and engage in more healthy behavior," says Jack Walter, executive director of the North Carolina State Health Plan. The plan estimates that claims for chronic diseases related to obesity may top \$108 million a year and claims for tobacco-related illnesses more than \$137 million a year.

It's too early to know whether raising the cost of insurance will lead to behavioral changes. But dangling carrots seems to work. In 2005 the Safeway supermarket chain implemented a voluntary wellness plan. Employees who take and pass tests for such things as blood pressure and cholesterol levels can reduce their annual insurance premiums by nearly \$800. The company credits the plan with keeping its insurance costs flat on a per capita basis for the past five years.

You might think organizations that focus on improving health and eradicating disease would be thrilled that employers are coming up with more incentives to lose weight and stop smoking. But in October the American Heart Association, the American Cancer Society and 61 other organizations sent a letter to Congress calling the Ensign-Carper amendment discriminatory and warning that it could make health insurance too expensive for the people who need it most. Says George Huntley of the American Diabetes Association: "This is not a wellness program. It's a penalty for failing to achieve a specific health status."

The University of North Carolina's Blanchard, a fit nonsmoker, is among those troubled by the changes to her state's health-insurance plan. "I understand the perspective that people who are carrying more risk should pay more, but it just doesn't seem fair," she says. "I don't think it's the best way to get people to lose weight and stop smoking." Then again, people who get caught speeding have to pay more for car insurance. Has that made us all safer drivers? ■

TV Dinners Get Literal. Schwan's Home Service is selling frozen *Top Chef* dishes. Can reality live up to reality TV?

BY JOEL STEIN

IF YOU WANT TO UNDERSTAND the disconnect between watching cooking shows and wanting to cook, get this: Schwan's Home Service is offering *Top Chef*-branded frozen meals. The idea that hard-core fans who study contestants' knife skills every week would choose to order from a giant company that's been delivering frozen food to rural America for 57 years doesn't surprise Harry Balzer, who tracks food trends for the market-research firm NPD Group. "You're going to eat four to five times today, and the one thing I know you're going to do is try to get someone else to prepare those meals," he says, noting that after two decades of no growth, microwave use has gone up 20% during the past three years.

Still, the brand extension surprised Lee Anne Wong, who, as a contestant in Season 1, created the chicken in red curry sauce that Schwan's is now eager to pack in dry ice and leave on people's doorsteps. "We're going to film with [French culinary legend] Joël Robuchon and then put out some frozen

dinners?" asks Wong, who has just finished her fifth season as a culinary producer on the show. Her honesty about Bravo's branding deal may have something to do with the fact that neither she nor the five other *Top Chef* contestants whose recipes and faces are being used by Schwan's are getting paid for them. As for how the meals taste, she says, "They're not bad. Of course, mine was better, and the vegetables weren't overcooked."

I ordered all five of Schwan's *Top Chef* meals—which cost \$10 to \$12 each—and invited my friend Jonathan Karsh, a reality-show producer and an excellent home cook, to try them. The first thing we noticed was how right Balzer was about the way we embrace prepared meals. Several times I said I had better "start cooking" when I meant "start microwaving." I was able to open the boxes with a knife from the *Top Chef* cutlery set the show sent me and pair the food with a *Top Chef*-branded Quickfire cabernet sauvignon (which was surprisingly good and, at \$19, surprisingly expensive). I was expecting a *Top*



FREEZE FRAME

Schwan's has been selling frozen food since 1952 but is trying to reach new fans with *Top Chef*-branded meals like the linguini dish, below, from Season 3

Chef robot to feed me, carry me to the TV and make me watch the show.

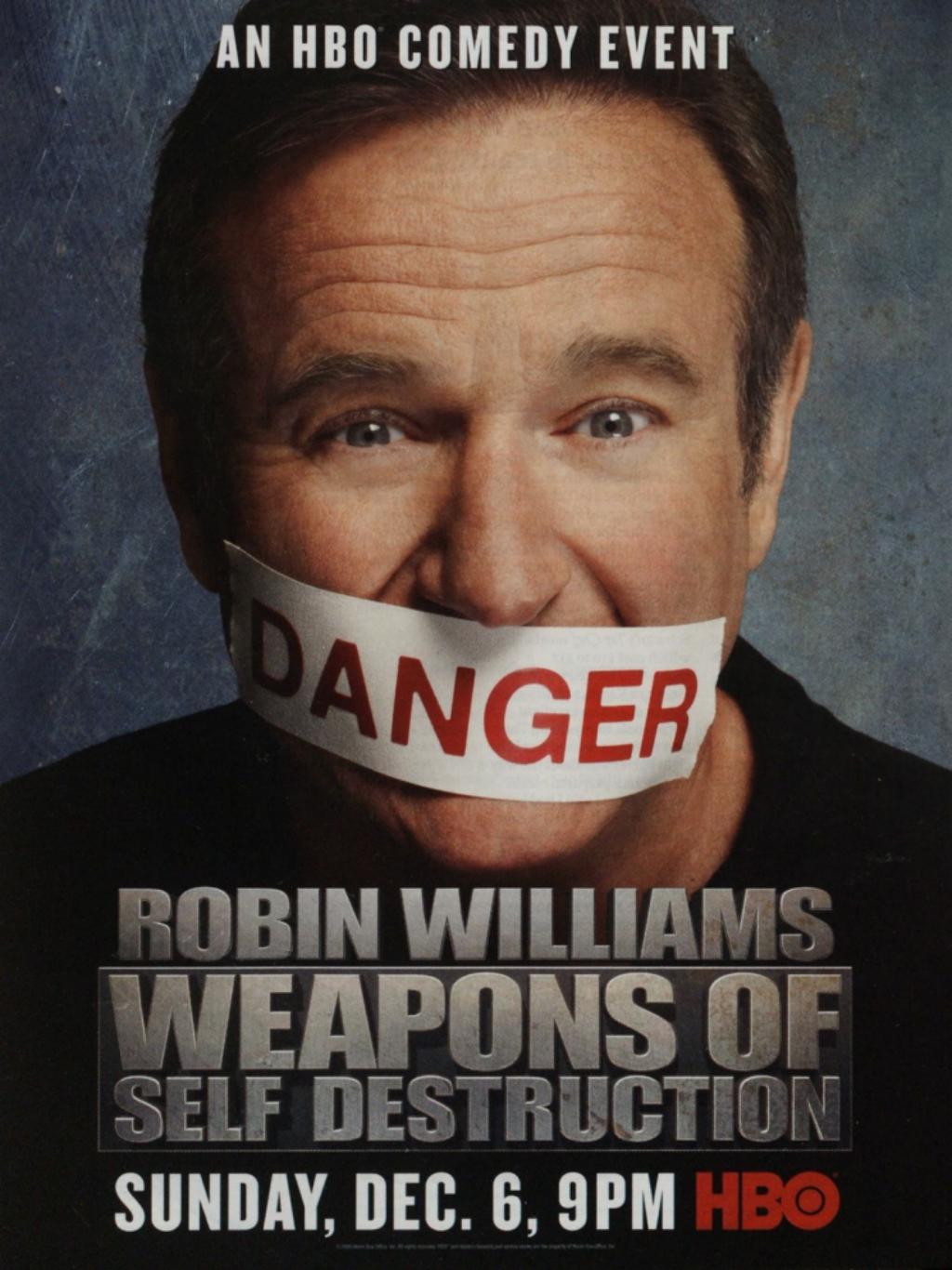
For frozen food, it was pretty good. The polenta with braised meatballs, concocted by the current season's Kevin Gillespie, was particularly good. The polenta was better than what I make, the tomato sauce better than a lot of jarred sauces, and the cauliflower—though a weird glop that was totally unlike cauliflower—kind of compelling.

But Karsh, who is a huge fan of the show and had just watched Gillespie make that dish on TV a few days earlier, didn't see it that way. "I wish I could taste what I see on TV," he said. "They used fresh ingredients. By the time this gets to you, it's a salty mush. I'm sure Kevin didn't put guar gum in it."

But Karsh isn't the audience. Yes, he's both the hardcore fan Bravo wants to give a fuller experience to and the urban consumer Schwan's is trying to expand to. But he cooks. The *Top Chef* deal is targeting people who don't have time to cook but do have time to watch TV. It's going to make a fortune. ■



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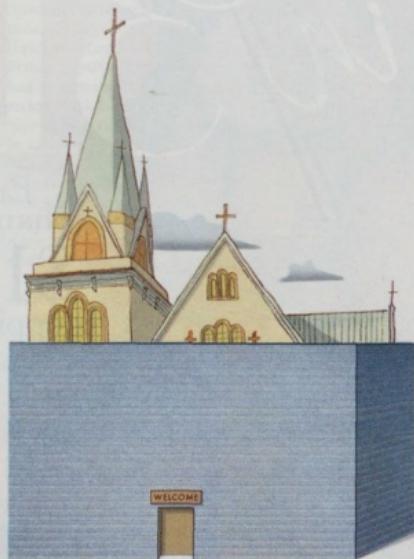
Church Insecurity.

Soft targets for theft and violent crimes, congregations struggle to balance safety and serenity

BY AMY SULLIVAN

JESUS MAY HAVE TAUGHT HIS disciples to turn the other cheek, but these days some churches are hiring armed security teams—just in case that whole forgiveness thing doesn't work out.

A flurry of violent crimes in churches has shaken the image of houses of worship as safe havens. In October a priest in New Jersey died after being stabbed 32 times in his parish rectory. In May an abortion provider was shot in the head inside a Kansas church. A Maryland woman was killed in February by her spurned husband in her church's parking lot. And that was all just this year. After a gunman killed two people and wounded seven others at a Tennessee church in the summer of 2008, conservative Christian outlet OneNewsNow polled 4,000 churches and found that three-



quarters had no security plan.

Houses of worship have long prided themselves on keeping their doors open to all. And many have assumed that respect for their sacredness—and perhaps fear of divine retribution—would keep them safe from crime. But as schools and businesses use more-sophisticated security systems, churches are becoming the soft targets in some communities.

Although slayings are still rare in houses of worship, security experts say churches are increasingly vulnerable to less violent crimes such as burglary, robbery and theft. So far this year, the Christian Security Network has tracked more than 1,000 crimes against churches, including 40 violent incidents, 86 arsons and more than 700 property crimes, resulting in more than \$25 million in losses. (Even modest congregations tend to

ILLUSTRATION: LEIF PARSONS FOR TIME

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have sound systems, televisions and computers that are relatively unsecured.)

Jeffrey Hawkins, the group's executive director, has spent nearly three decades in law enforcement and security services. He says many religious leaders fear that obvious security measures, like guards and surveillance cameras, will make a church seem unwelcoming. "It's a paradigm shift that has to happen," says Hawkins, who works with churches to assess risk and develop security plans.

After a church security guard in Colorado Springs engaged in a shoot-out with a gunman who had already fatally wounded two people in 2007, the switchboard was flooded at Guide One, an insurance company that has worked with churches on security issues since the 1960s. Says senior risk manager Eric Spacek: "We heard from a lot of churches wanting to know if they should arm their security teams."

That still strikes many congregations as extreme. A common first step is to improve security outside. One of Hawkins' clients is Houston's Berean Baptist Church, which had its moment of truth about security needs when the senior pastor's car was stolen as he sat just a few yards away in his office. "Cars were stolen from the parking lot all the time," says executive pastor Hutson Smalley. "And the burglaries got to a point where it was more than once a month."

That was six years ago. The church, which draws about 450 parishioners on an average Sunday, built a fence around its 11-acre (4.5 hectare) property and installed an electronic access gate to the parking lot. For concerts and other big events, the church hires off-duty police officers. There have been no car thefts and only one burglary in the church's new security era. Berean also uses a check-in system for its nursery and Sunday schools that once averted an



CHURCH CRIME

40

Number of violent crimes reported by churches during the first 10 months of 2009

86

Number of arson cases reported this year by churches

\$25 MILLION

Amount of losses resulting from the more than 700 property crimes reported this year

Source: Christian Security Network

attempted kidnapping by an estranged parent.

Violent crimes at churches often share similarities with attacks that happen at workplaces: battered spouses may find somewhere else to sleep at night, but their abusers can count on finding them at work or church. "One of the biggest vulnerabilities of churches is that they're very predictable," explains Hawkins. "You can go on most websites and find out when services begin and end or find a floor plan of the whole church."

Knowing exactly where Kansas abortion doctor George Tiller would be on a Sunday morning undoubtedly simplified his killer's plans. And that's not a new problem. Charles Guiteau, the man who assassinated James Garfield, first planned to shoot the President coming out of church. He backed off only when he saw that Garfield was with his mother. Some things, after all, are sacred. ■

JOANNA MCGARITY / GETTY

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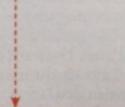
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STAPLES

CASH CRUNCH

Pop-Up Shops.

More brands are turning vacant retail space into temporary stores. How companies, and consumers, can win

BY SEAN GREGORY

DESPITE THE NEGATIVE SALES forecasts for this holiday shopping season, now might be the right time to open a store. A temporary one, that is. As landlords and mall operators struggle to fill vacancies and companies try to squeeze as much revenue as possible from the high-traffic holiday season, short-term retail outlets, or pop-up stores, are very much the rage. "Because of the significant empty-space issue across the board, pop-ups are an opportunity for both entrepreneurs and big brands to make some money without having to worry about the overhead of a five-year lease," says Mike Kraus, retail consultant for AllBusiness.com.

"Pop-ups are a national phenomenon," says Faith Hope Consolo, head of retail leasing at Prudential Douglas Elliman. No longer limited to shady operations looking to make a quick buck, pop-ups are being embraced by a broad range of big-name retailers

from Gap to Gucci. Toys "R" Us is playing the pop-up game in a big way, opening 350 Holiday Express toy outlets in an attempt to boost sales and take some of the market share that belonged to its dearly departed rival KB Toys, which shut down earlier this year.

Pop-ups provide an opportunity for retailers to test new products, create some buzz or simply remind customers of an older brand's existence. In October, American Eagle

opened a boutique for its 77kids brand that will stay open for 77 days in a mall in Pittsburgh, Pa. That same month, Ann Taylor opened and closed three pop-ups in New York City and afterward noticed an increase in traffic to its permanent stores nearby. The two chains' pop-up experiments are examples of what Consolo calls "a short-term investment for what could be a long term gain."

Landlords would no doubt

prefer longer leases, but three weeks' worth of rent is better than nothing. Temporary stores can also be tricky for shoppers, as return policies are often much stricter. If a pop-up is part of a chain, items can usually be returned to another location. But if it's a one-time operation, consumers may be out of luck. So enjoy the deals that these quickie outlets will be offering this holiday season. But pop-up shop at your own risk. ■



PHOTO: ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY HELEN DE LA ROSA

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Power of One.

To recycle is good, but to reuse is better. Freecycle's **Deron Beal** tells how he started finding homes for millions of people's stuff



THE LIGHTBULB WENT OFF THE day I realized that while recycling is great, if someone is able to reuse the stuff you no longer want, like your old sofa, you're keeping not just a 100-lb. sofa out of a landfill but also 20 to 40 times that in the raw materials needed to make a new sofa.

This was back in 2003, when I was working with a nonprofit in Arizona to secure transitional employment for homeless men. One job involved helping businesses in downtown Tucson recycle. Our workers would drive around, collecting recycling and interacting with shop owners, and in the process, businesses started asking if we could make use of such things as old computers and desks.

We started storing these items in a warehouse, and I would try to find new homes for them at nonprofits. As that warehouse filled up with things that had no real monetary value, I realized that to reuse it all, we had to find a way to connect people directly.

So we started a Yahoo! group with 20 or 30 people. The first item posted was my mattress, since my now wife

and I were moving in together. Because I was posting so many things from that warehouse, other people got the concept really quickly—that this was a sort of cybercurbside where you could find things in your area to pick up and drop off.

It's a concept that was able to go viral very quickly. A year after we had set up Freecycle.org, we had a million members. Today we move 24,000 items a day, helping everyone from a 92-year-old man who collects bike parts so he can rebuild bikes for children to a kid who has set up an orphanage for unwanted guinea pigs.

The goal now, with our new mobile application, is to reach the developing world, where people don't have computers. We're even starting to see some government buy-in; the EPA has referred to us as a "revolution in reuse."

Across our network of nearly 7 million members, we reuse 700 tons of material a day—that's the equivalent of what arrives at a midsize landfill daily. There's one less landfill in the world because of this little website. —As told to S. James Snyder ■



Cybercurbside
Beal's old mattress
was the first giveaway
posted on what is now
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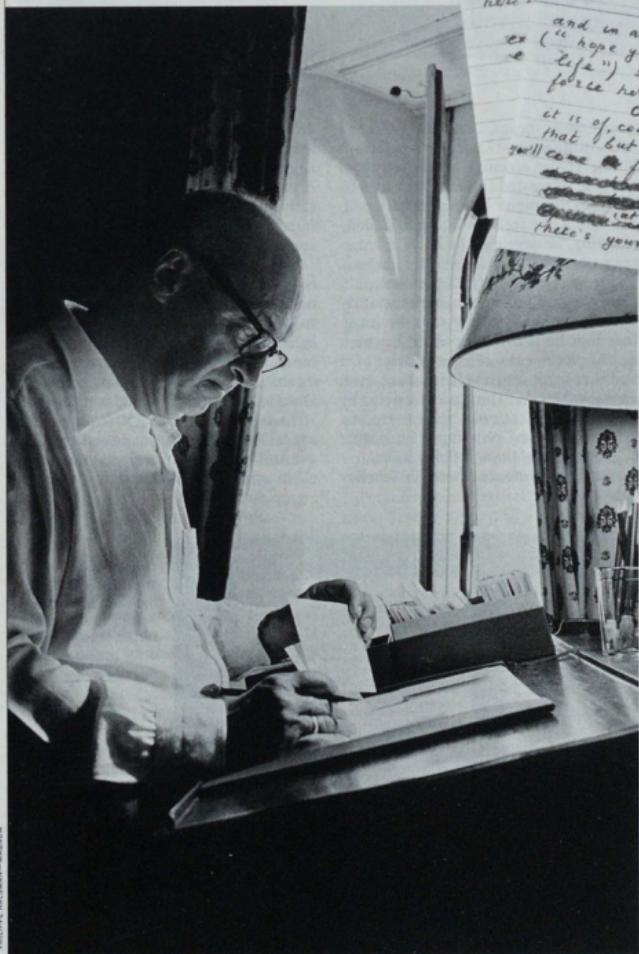
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Arte

BOOKS MOVIES MUSIC SHORT LIST



Feb (7)

age of forty or so we find her reduced to a
dancing lesson at a not quite Wild &
glamorous

100 m to the road
(72) tree

show
here's

and in answer to Winnie's jocular remark
("I hope you'll enjoy the story of your
life") said she "doubted if she could
force herself to start reading it.
Oh you must!" said Winnie,
it is, of course, fictionalized and all
that is, but ~~you will come~~
you will come ~~to face to face with yourself~~
~~at every other corner of your~~
There's your wonderful death. Let me

BOOKS

Epilogue.

Piecing together Nabokov's last novel, *The Original of Laura*

BY LEV GROSSMAN

EVEN BY THE STANDARDS OF genius, Vladimir Nabokov's work habits were odd. He wrote much of *Lolita* in the backseat of the family car, a black 1946 Oldsmobile. (He would later say the only place he could write was in a car.)

America where he wasn't plagued by noise and drafts.) He didn't use regular paper. Instead he wrote in pencil on index cards, which his wife Vera later typed up for him.

Nabokov spent his last years in a grand hotel in Montreux, Switzerland—after *Lolita* he could afford it—working on a novel called *The Original of Laura*. But he died before he could finish it, leaving behind a box of 138 index cards that he instructed Vera to destroy. This she did not do.

Old master Nabokov at work at his desk in Montreux, Switzerland, in 1968

Neither did his son Dmitri. Now Dmitri Nabokov has published *The Original of Laura* (Knopf; 278 pages)—what there is of it—in an elegant edition, priced at \$35, that reproduces each index card on a single page. “Nabokov intended to win his 100-card dash against death but, given the course of events, could not foresee the exact form in which the book would ultimately appear,” Dmitri explains in a written interview with TIME. “He was sure, however, that it would appear. He had been working on the novel since 1974 and, when asked in 1976 what three favorite books he was reading and would want to keep, he listed a new translation of Dante’s *Inferno*, a volume on North American butterflies and *The Original of Laura*.... Those are not the words of an author who intends to have that novel burned.”

The Original of Laura is a fragment, or a collection of fragments—“the novel was probably half or one-third ‘written’ in the strictly technical sense,” Dmitri says. It is not a series of consecutive chapters. Nabokov liked to attack his subjects on multiple fronts, from all directions, an approach facilitated by his use of index cards. The book begins at a party attended by a woman named Flora. Her husband is not present, and she slips away to an absent-minded tryst with a lover, which Nabokov renders delicately but unsentimentally: “That first surrender of hers was a little sudden, if not downright unnerving. A pause for some light caresses, concealed embarrassment, feigned amusement, pre-actory contemplation.”

We meet, in due course, the deceived husband as well: “A brilliant neurologist, a renowned lecturer [and] a gentleman of



'Nabokov intended to win his 100-card dash against death.'

—DMITRI NABOKOV, SON OF VLADIMIR

independent means, Dr. Philip Wild had everything save an attractive exterior.” Philip is older, eccentric and miserly, and he’s less interested in Flora than in a bizarre experiment he’s conducting on himself. As he feels his aging flesh deteriorating, he develops the habit of entering a trance wherein he pictures his body and then mentally erases portions of it; he begins with his toes, which instantly become numb. By this means, he imagines that he is bringing about his own death, piecemeal—seizing control of it and turning it into a volitional act, even an enjoyable one. “The process of dying by auto-dissolution affords the greatest ecstasy known to man,” he tells us. The subtitle of *The Original of Laura* is *Dying Is Fun*.

For readers who are devoted to Nabokov

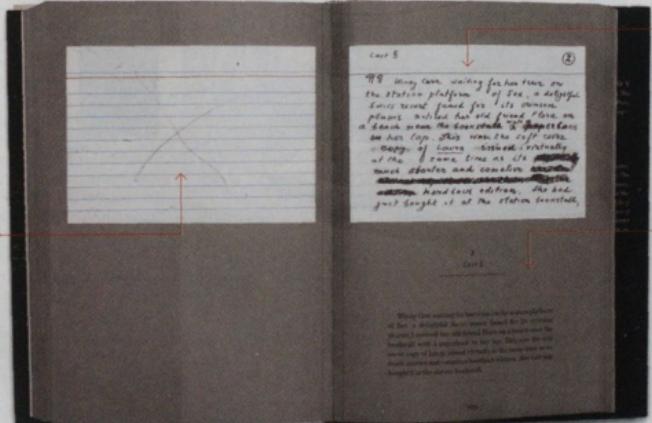
(I’m one), *The Original of Laura* affords its own ecstasies. It comes at you as a reprieve, a final appearance from an old friend you thought was already gone for good. It’s a shambles, a heap of shards, but they’re Nabokov’s shards and no one else’s: the “nasty compassion” the partygoers direct at a drunken Flora; the “alien creams” Flora spots in someone else’s bathroom (recalling the “solemn pool of alien urine” deposited by Mr. Taxovich in another bathroom in *Lolita*); the playful half-rhyme of *belle* and *belly*; the perhaps overly wink-winky inclusion of a pedophile named Mr. Hubert H. Hubert; and one lost, evocative phrase off by itself in the upper margin of a card, without a context—the orange awnings of southern summers.”

Flora’s surrender to lazy, loveless sexual pleasure and Philip’s intensely strange abdication of bodily life together make, or would have made, *The Original of Laura* a melancholy meditation on our fleshly predicament. And what else? The novel’s title refers to a novel-within-a-novel called *My Laura*, about a character based on Flora. This in turn rhymes with Aurora, the name of an early love of Philip’s whom Flora physically resembles, creating a chain of resemblances and echoes that leads us... where?

We’ll never know. *The Original of Laura* is a beautiful ruin, like the *Venus de Milo*, not a novel. To pretend otherwise is wishful thinking, no different from Philip’s belief that he can master death. At some moments the book seems to anticipate its shattered future—Nabokov compares Flora to “an unwritten, half-written, rewritten difficult book.” That’s part of her appeal and, oddly, part of *Laura*’s too. You admire what you can see, and you dream about what might have been. ■

The Novel As Card Game

X MARKS THE SPOT
Nabokov habitually crossed out the back side of the note cards on which he wrote to avoid confusion



THE MANUSCRIPT
The book reproduces the cards in facsimile. According to his son Dmitri, “The graphite of his pencils outlined the eraser”

MOVABLE TYPE
Each card is transcribed, but the cards are also perforated so readers can remove and reorder them



Road warriors Smit-McPhee and Mortensen, foreground, make their way across a ruined America

MOVIES

The Waste Land.

Cormac McCarthy's postapocalyptic novel *The Road* is beautiful on film but no less bleak

BY MARY POLS

IT'S USUALLY FAIRLY EASY FOR A MOVIE critic to drum up a date for a screening. But persuading someone to join you at the film adaptation of Cormac McCarthy's solemn, searing postapocalyptic novel *The Road* is apparently akin to asking if they'll help you transport nuclear waste. One friend essentially declared that even if Pauline Kael rose forth from the grave to endorse this cinematic spectacle of father and son wandering a ruined world in search of uncertain sanctuary, she still would not see it.

So as Viggo Mortensen's dirty, hairy (but still pretty) face rose up from the ashly grave of America, bringing McCarthy's "Man" to life in John Hillcoat's bleakly beautiful movie, I was torn between feeling sorry for my unaccompanied self and feeling sorry for the filmmakers. I read McCarthy's lean, brutalizing novel in one unhappy gulp 15 months ago and only recently began to consider myself healed. How do you lure people to a movie made from a book that itself probably should have borne a mental-health warning from the surgeon general? Do you target the innocents or the masochists?

The fact that the movie was originally slated for release last autumn and bounced around this fall's schedule before landing in Thanksgiving week suggests that the questions stumped the marketing professionals as well. But if Hillcoat—best known for his Australian outlaw tale *The Proposition*—and

screenwriter Joe Penhall felt any pressure to temper the novel's agonies, they shrugged it off. Their *Road* is respectful of McCarthy's glumness, and they have made no effort to soften the despair.

The Man and his son, the Boy (Kodi Smit-McPhee), a child of perhaps 11, raised in a postcivilized era in which a lone can of Coca-Cola is a treasure, encounter no miraculously budding tree in the wasted landscape, no fish jumping from a dead ocean. The best they get is a rheumy-eyed old man (the great Robert Duvall) who considers death a luxury. Bands of cannibals rule the land, favoring children as meals. It's hopeless except for, as in McCarthy's book, the driving force of the narrative: a father's fierce devotion to his child. "The child is the warrant," Mortensen tells us in voice-over, the only reason for being.

Hillcoat does make one important addition to the story: flashbacks to what life was like when the Woman (Charlize Theron) was still alive. They weren't good times—the world was well on the way to environmental ruin—but at least the Man still had a partner. Theron's presence may be a nod

to producers who wanted a female star in the picture, but it's not entirely successful in terms of adhering to McCarthy's intent. Theron is graceful as always, but meeting the Woman only makes her absence more troubling and alters our relationship with the Man for the worse.

For instance, when the Man tosses his last picture of the Woman into a gully, a gesture meant to banish dangerous sentimentality and show his commitment to inhabiting the new world, it seems cruel and pointless: cruel because the Boy is entitled to an image of his mother, pointless because every time the Man looks at the Boy's face, he must see her reflection—Smit-McPhee looks so uncannily like Theron that it's impossible to forget her. (The Boy also wears her cast-off hat for virtually the whole movie, playing up the resemblance.)

The book engages with moral arguments about protection and survival: What if everything we believed in vanished, leaving love to stand naked on its own—would that be enough? McCarthy's writing has always been a manly affair, so it made sense that he reduced his world to father and son, with the Man emerging heroic. Here, when the Man speaks of carrying "the fire," i.e., the conviction of humanity, it rings more hollow, even though Mortensen grapples well with the potential corniness of that line (he gives a somber, deeply affecting performance). The wasteland that surrounds them—the sun's fire extinguished, the forests burning—makes forcing someone you love to endure it seem like a selfish act. "I don't want to just survive," the Woman tells the Man, and *The Road* creates such a seamless vision of misery that it persuades you she was right. See it if you have the strength, but if your friends turn you down, arm yourself with a stiff drink on the way in; fortification is needed. ■

How do you lure people to a movie made from a book that probably should have borne a mental-health warning?

Death Becomes Her.

In Pedro Almodóvar's new film, Penélope Cruz plays an actress gone but not forgotten



An artist's muse Cruz, in her fourth Almodóvar film, has never been so luminous

BY RICHARD CORLISS

OFTEN, BEFORE A MOVIE SCENE IS FILMED, the director and cinematographer will bring in the leading actors' stand-ins to light and frame the shot. The opening image of Pedro Almodóvar's *Broken Embraces* shows this process with a stand-in for Penélope Cruz. Then the star actress enters the frame. She looks so somber, as if she's about to read a death sentence—her own.

Almodóvar is cherished worldwide for his movies' brio and wisdom, but the Spanish writer-director, who turned 60 in September, has been preoccupied with death and mourning in many of his prime films. He killed off important characters in the first reels of *All About My Mother* and *Volver*, then examined how the survivors coped with their loss or the urge for revenge. An underlying love for the dead or near dead stokes the main figures in *Talk to Her* and *Volver*. In each case the grieving is natural, respectful, votive. Also volcanic.

The first minutes of *Broken Embraces* announce the death of its star attraction, the actress Lena, played by Cruz. In the 14 years since her death, Lena has been deeply mourned by her lover Mateo (Lluís Homar), a movie director who was

blinded in the same car crash that killed her. He now works under the playfully turbulent pseudonym Harry Caine, as in *Hurricane*. He needed a new name, he says, because the real Mateo died with Lena. But now he learns of the death of Ernesto (José Luis Gómez), a wealthy businessman who financed Lena's entrance into movies and whom Mateo blames for her death. For the next two hours, Almodóvar suavely juggles the events of 1994 and 2008.

Broken Embraces isn't one of the master's all-time greats (it's a notch or two below *All About My Mother* and *Talk to Her*), but it's still complex, vivacious and emotionally resonant. Since the gynocentric *Mother* and *Volver*, and the guy-nocentric *Bad Education*, Almodóvar has returned to the plot structure of the noirish *Live Flesh*: the toxic romantic geometry of a triangle love story. In the world of *telenovela* melodrama that has long appealed to Almodóvar, jealousy must be twisted into violence at the

Unbroken . . .
embrace Cruz and
Almodóvar on the
movie set



top of a winding staircase, while lust collides with a dark fate on a highway with one too many cars.

And in the grand tradition of Hollywood multigenerational weepies, the sins of the fathers reverberate in their offspring. In 1994, on the set of the film *Mateo* was shooting with Lena, Ernesto's son was compiling a making-of featurette that was really a documentation of the director-actress tryst. In 2008, Ernesto Jr. is still skulking around, hoping—or threatening—to unearth bitter old truths. Also, *Mateo*'s housekeeper and longtime friend has a son, sweet and smart, who assists *Mateo*. We'll learn that every supporting character is there for a reason.

Star Quality

BROKEN EMBRACES COULD BE THE TITLE of nearly any Almodóvar film. His people are infirm creatures looking for a little hug that can be therapeutic or redemptive. The paraplegic cop played by Javier Bardem in *Live Flesh* doesn't shrug off sexual desire just because he's confined to a wheelchair. Almodóvar suffuses his new film with this notion of the crippled seeking help; nearly every plot point pivots on someone's infirmity. The message is clear: we are all invalids who want to walk, if the fates allow, into each other's arms.

The mood and tone here are less bustling than in earlier Almodóvar's. This time his energy went into the dense plot scheme, with its duplication of characters and family dynamics. One thing hasn't changed: the director's skill at bringing out the star quality of his performers. Homar, a Spanish stage veteran, handsomely shoulders the weight of the film. As for Cruz, in her fourth Almodóvar film, she's never been more luminous, serious or sexy. Her Lena is woman enough to justify one man's need to possess or destroy her and another's desire to hold on to her for a lifetime. The emotions she stirs in her lovers are so intense, she has to die. Yet for Mateo, she's not a corpse but a ghost, a holy spirit.

Those who die young—not just Lena but actors like James Dean and Heath Ledger, politicians like Jack and Bobby Kennedy—are robbed of life but also of aging and decay. They are frozen at the apex of their beauty, power and promise. So lovers like Mateo, and movie lovers like the rest of us, have that perfect vision as a perpetual keepsake. Almodóvar knows it too: a dead love never dies. ■



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MUSIC

School of Rock. Hall of Fame greats unite to make occasionally great music

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

ROCK 'N' ROLL HAS NEVER EXCELLED AT math. "Two plus two always makes a five," says Radiohead, while Bono famously counts, "*Uno, dos, tres, cuatro.*" So why expect better from the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame? Founded in 1983, the Hall celebrated its 25th anniversary in October 2009 with two all-star concerts at Madison Square Garden. An edited version will be televised on HBO on Nov. 29. Cutting shouldn't be a challenge.

The nominal idea of the concerts was

to trace rock's journey by pairing up Hall inductees of different vintages and styles for performances that highlight influence. Or just generate a highlight. The first night tilted toward fogyism, with Crosby, Stills and Nash, Simon and Garfunkel and Stevie Wonder, among others, doing serviceable work before ceding the stage to Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band, who gamely refused to turn the show into their own by playing with Darlene Love, John Fogerty and Billy Joel. Presumably that was to highlight the influence

Lead vocals Springsteen, Bono and Smith, from left, at the Hall of Fame concert in October

of New Jersey on Long Island, New York.

Night 2 couldn't help being more contemporary, even though Jerry Lee Lewis opened with a two-minute "Great Balls of Fire" that finished when he kicked over the piano bench. If they go another round, my money's on the bench. Aretha Franklin performed spirited duets with Annie Lennox and Lenny Kravitz, but the sparks started when Metallica, whose facial hair has always belied its sincerity, backed Lou Reed, Ray Davies and Ozzy Osbourne on two songs each, with impressive seriousness. Lead singer James Hetfield screamed, "Now that's rock 'n' roll!" after the Kinks' "You Really Got Me," and he sounded like a man who had discovered its power anew.

U2 closed with an endearing mess of a set. Mick Jagger skittered across the stage but failed to set it alight on "Gimme Shelter," and the less said of U2's duet with the Black Eyed Peas, the better. What was lovable was Bono's willingness to make a go of it on a rousing "Because the Night" with Patti Smith and Springsteen. But in the end, it was less a great concert than a concert of greats. ■

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Para una notificación en Español, visitar nuestro sitio Web, www.mattelsettlement.com.

A proposed settlement has been reached in a class action lawsuit involving certain Mattel and Fisher-Price toys that were sold in the United States and subject to recalls or withdrawn from the market in 2006 and 2007. The lawsuit claims that Mattel and other companies ("Defendants") violated the law by designing, making, marketing and selling toys with excessive levels of lead, and small magnets that could become loose. Defendants deny they did anything wrong. The settlement will provide refunds to certain "Class Members" who submit "Claim Forms." If you're a Class Member, you may send in a Claim Form to get a refund in the form of a check or voucher. **Claim Forms can be obtained at www.mattelsettlement.com or by calling 1-888-955-2715.** A federal court authorized this notice.

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What Does the Settlement Provide? In addition to refunds for Class Members, Mattel agreed to reimburse Class Members who incurred out-of-pocket costs for lead testing of a child as a result of his/her exposure to a Recalled Toy within 6 weeks of the Recall announcement. Mattel also agreed to implement and maintain a toy safety program for three years, and to donate \$275,000 to the National Association of Children's Hospitals and Related Institutions.

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The Court will hold a hearing at 1:30 p.m. on **March 15, 2010** to consider whether to approve the settlement, and whether to grant Co-Lead Counsel's request for \$12.9 million in attorneys' fees and expenses, to which Mattel does not object. You don't have to attend the hearing. Please do not contact the Court directly.

For more information, go to: WWW.MATTELSETTLEMENT.COM OR CALL 1-888-955-2715

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TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 | MOVIE New Moon

The *Twilight* sequel finds Bella Swan (Kristen Stewart) tacking from vampire heartthrob Edward Cullen (Robert Pattinson) to a love triangle involving werewolf pal Jacob Black (Taylor Lautner). It's enough to make a girl's head spin—and several million other girls buy movie tickets.

2 | BOOK Changing My Mind: Occasional Essays

As good as Zadie Smith's novels are, her essays are even better. She has the gift David Foster Wallace had: the mere act of watching her think—about Kafka, *Buffy*, her father, her writing habits, whatever attracts her critical intelligence—makes you feel smarter.

3 | DVD The Exiles

Faces jump off the screen and stick in your memory in Kent MacKenzie's semidocumentary on Native Americans out for Friday-night fun in the Bunker Hill section of Los Angeles. Recently restored, this 1961 drama powerfully preserves a near vanished culture.

4 | BOOK The Complete Lyrics of Johnny Mercer

My mama done tol' me this is the centenary of pop music's great veracular poet. To ac-cent-tchu-ate the positive, Robert Kimball has compiled Mercer's oeuvre, plenty for a year's worth of sing-alongs. "Jeepers Creepers," "Moon River," "One for My Baby" ... O.K., your turn.

5 | ALBUM A Friend of a Friend

In his debut as Dave Rawlings Machine, Gillian Welch's better half proves he can hold center stage with a reedy voice that ranges from raucous bluegrass on the Ryan Adams cover "To Be Young (Is to Be Sad, Is to Be High)" to soft potency on the protest tune "I Hear Them All."

Rosanne Cash's Short List

When she was 18, Grammy-winning singer-songwriter Cash was given a list her dad Johnny had written called "100 Essential Country Songs." Rosanne recorded 12 of those tracks for her 12th album, *The List*, which was released in October. Next up for Cash is a memoir, out next summer. In her downtime Cash can be found listening to old and new songwriters or waiting to see what disaster Nurse Jackie will face next.

History trip

Just when I thought I couldn't absorb or enjoy one more thing about the court of Henry VIII, a book arrives that makes everything else seem like amateur hour. *Wolf Hall* by Hilary Mantel is written in such an elegant and natural voice, so well-researched and rich in detail that it's an exciting excursion to a time and a story that I thought I already knew well.

A classic songwriter

On his new disc, *Closer to the Bone*, Kris Kristofferson, one of the greatest living American songwriters, has lost none of his powers. He writes from his own deep authenticity, acutely aware of the fact that he has more to say, less time to say it. As he says in the title song, "Nothing but the truth now/ Everything is sweeter/ Closer to the bone."

Moody rhythms

Joe Henry, another great American songwriter, also has a new disc, *Blood from Stars*. He has a very different sensibility from Kristofferson but is equally authentic and well spoken. This is an understated, moody and supremely intelligent record. As he says, he believes in "love and darkness and rhythm."

My kind of blue

Sheila Berger paints in encaustic, a layered effect that seems to actually exude light from inside the painting. Her "Arbor Naturum" series is mostly blue, a kind of blue I want to swim in.

TV triage

The setup in the first season of *Nurse Jackie* indicated a multitude of personal disasters looming on the horizon. I can't wait to see how this all implodes.



Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/arts



Joel

Stein

The Wu-Stein Clan. When picking godparents for our son, we realized blood is thick—but Wu is thicker

ONE OF MY FIRST THOUGHTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF my son Laszlo—after figuring out how to get a pizza into the hospital—was, “What happens if my lovely wife Cassandra and I die in a car crash?” I’m not sure what kind of life I thought Cassandra and I would have driving around late at night, wasted, without our child, but I wish we had worked harder to pursue it.

Still, it’s possible that Cassandra and I could get into some sort of freak accident in which the TiVo remote flew out of my hand and sliced both our jugulars, so we discussed whom we’d choose as Laszlo’s legal guardian. We immediately thought of my father and his wife, since they are responsible, patient, happy, amazing with children and very rich. But they’re old. Laszlo would think music consisted of nothing but Steve Lawrence and Brenda Lee and was accessible only through four-digit cable channels. Plus, they live in the Hamptons, so Laszlo would grow up with a snobbery completely different from the snobbery we intended for him.

My mom seems like a great choice, but I’ve seen my mom around other kids, and I have no doubt that Laszlo would eat nothing but ice cream. She and her husband are warm and adventurous, but they were both therapists, so Laszlo would have to pretend to care about all kinds of pointless conversations that end in tears and, I’m sure, more ice cream. Also, they plan to spend half the year at their place in Florida, which would be fine if they balanced that with the rest of the year at the World Economic Forum.

Cassandra’s parents are loving and good at baking, gardening, repairing stuff and other skills that Cassandra and I pay people for. But they’re a little too country; they think window screens are for stuck-up people, and not once since I’ve known them have they been able to use their cell phones. Besides, they live in Hoosick Falls, N.Y.—a town so small, there weren’t enough people to stop someone from naming it Hoosick Falls. Cassandra’s brother Brian is very into video games and anime and is definitely going to be our choice for guardian once Laszlo turns 15. Her brother Ian and his wife Tricia just had a son exactly Laszlo’s age, but they also live in a tiny, rural town. And they’re vegan. While there’s nothing wrong

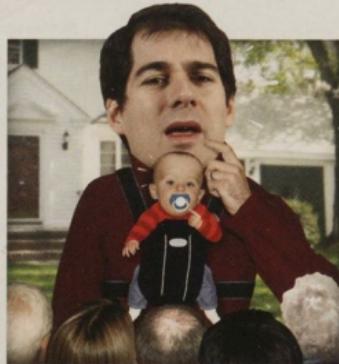
with being vegan, it means they don’t eat meat. And talk about being vegan a lot. Though I think Laszlo will like all the animals in the kingdom, I do not think he’s going to want to live in a house with them.

We considered my sister Lisa and her husband Mike for quite a while, since they live in a nice suburb in a homemade-soap-filled home and share a lot of our beliefs. But that guy watches an awful lot of gore movies, and he laughs at them. And they bicker a lot, and I’m defining *bicker* broadly enough to include discussions between opposing players in NBA games. Plus, they don’t want kids, which is a big consideration when you’re giving someone a kid.

That’s when we thought about my college friend Ben Wu and his wife Kristin. They have a great house in a really nice town near San Francisco that’s not all that different from the one we live in. They’re good parents to two kids we really like. They share our thoughts and values about religion, education, discipline, family, home, competition, money and not taking things too seriously, and I know they’d love Laszlo as their own child once he was in their home. Besides, Ben was going to have to teach him how to play sports

even if we survived the TiVo accident. As we discussed the Wu kids’ hobbies, college funds and cute clothes, Cassandra looked at me and said, “I want to be raised by the Wus.” And the truth is, after taking all those babies, we owe the Chinese at least one kid.

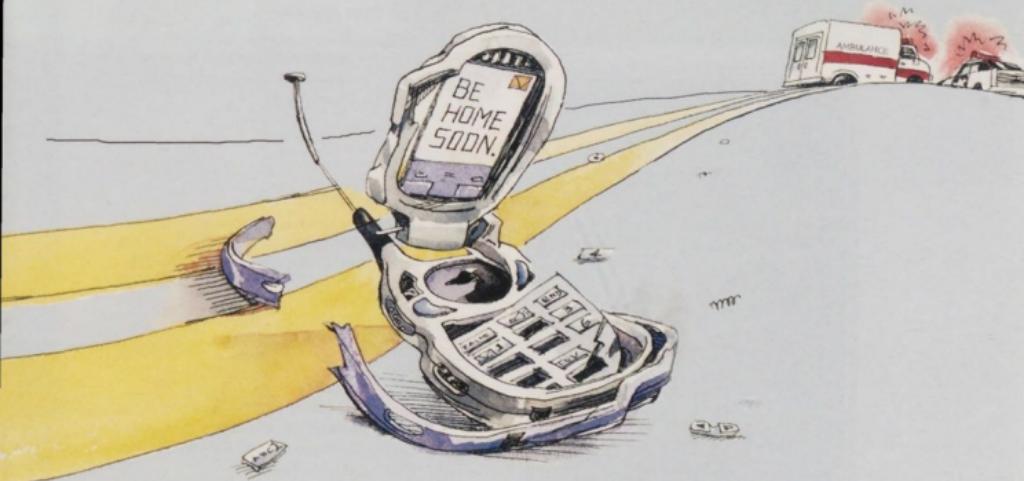
It is not an easy thing to tell your family members who have shown your child so much love that you’re choosing a dude from your freshman dorm as a godparent instead of them. Which is why experts suggest you do it through a humor column in the back of a magazine. But we chose demographics over love. The Wus went to similar colleges, had similar jobs and do similar things with their time. Despite genetics and the 18 years we spent together, our family is less like us than the people we choose to associate with. Which means, sadly, that one day Laszlo will be fundamentally more in tune with his slacker L.A. punk-rock-bandmate friends than with his parents. Unless, of course, the Wus get him first.



Two out of three teens admit to texting while driving.



SOME OF THEM WILL NEVER BE HEARD FROM AGAIN.



Car crashes are the leading cause of death among American teens. **Is any text message worth dying for?**

A recent survey showed that 87% of teens say texting while driving is dangerous. Yet, most of them do it anyway. Allstate believes that until we make texting while driving illegal, kids are going to continue to do it. And continue to die.

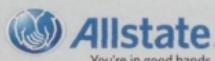
SUPPORT THE STANDUP ACT

The STANDUP Act* (H.R. 1895) creates a National Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) law that: reduces

in-car distractions like texting, limits nighttime driving and the number of friends in the car, and increases the required hours of training and supervision. **When states have implemented comprehensive GDL programs, the number of fatal crashes among 16-year-old drivers has fallen by almost 40%.**

Let's help teens end their texting habits before texting habits end them. Tell your congressional representatives that you support the STANDUP Act. Go to allstate.com/STANDUP.

It's time to make the world a safer place to drive. That's Allstate's Stand.



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Home
Life
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*The STANDUP Act is the Safe Teen And Novice Driver Uniform Protection Act of 2009.

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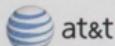
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